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UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA STUDIES IN SOUTHERN LITERATURE

CHARLES W. KENT, EDITOR
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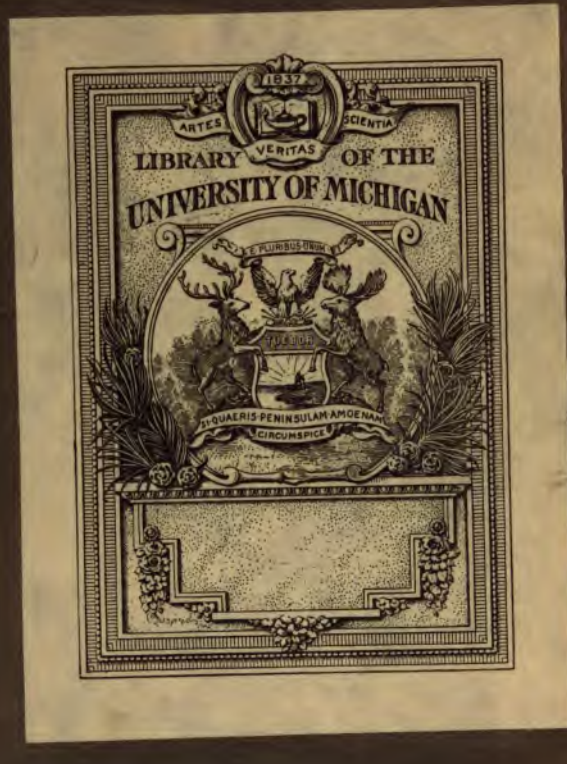
VIRGINIA LITERATURE

BY

CAROL MONTGOMERY NEWMAN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VIRGINIA LITERATURE

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA AS
A PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

CAROL MONTGOMERY NEWMAN

JUNE, 1903

PRESS OF B. D. SMITH & BROTHERS,
PULASKI, VIRGINIA.

PREFACE.

The present pamphlet is merely the skeleton of a much larger work, a *Virginia Bibliography*, for which the author has collected nearly all the necessary material. The "Sketch of Virginia Literature" here given was to have formed the Introduction to this larger volume; the present "Check-List of Virginia Writers" is simply an alphabetical enumeration of those authors whose published volumes the fuller work was to have catalogued and described; and no record at all is here made of those books published in Virginia by foreign or anonymous writers, of which a long list has been compiled. But, though the author has found it impossible to publish this complete work at present, he still hopes to do so in the near future. He therefore earnestly requests that inaccuracies, omissions, or errors of any sort found in the present pamphlet by those into whose hands it may fall, will be brought to his notice for correction.

To many friends throughout the State the author owes a debt of gratitude for their encouragement and their suggestions, but above all to Dr. Charles W. Kent, of the University of Virginia, whose practical interest in the work since its inception has done most toward making its completion possible.

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I.

A SKETCH OF VIRGINIA LITERATURE.

With peculiar aptitude may a time-worn figure be pressed into service and the course of Virginia literature be likened to the flow of some fair river. It rises among scenes that are wild and rugged, its early progress is impeded by many a forbidding boulder; not yet conscious of its seaward mission, it flows merely because flow it must. Many are the vicissitudes through which it passes before the sea is reached. Now it glides placidly amid pleasant pastures; its motion seems born of immobility. Now it foams down the rapids, and the sunlight glistening upon the flying spray calls from their fairy hiding places all the rare beauties of the rainbow; now it leaps madly roaring over the falls and subsides between vast rocky cliffs by which the sunlight seems forever hidden. At last the level plains extend on every side; the mission of the waters is clear; the river, fed by many a faithful tributary, flows proudly onward with ever increasing volume to mingle with the mighty ocean.

An adequate history of this Virginia literature would be a matter of volumes, and yet involve no undue enlargement of scale or unwarranted liberality of judgment. Nor would such a history possess as little value as the generality of critics would have us believe. In more ways than one the literature of the Old Dominion is worthy of minutest study.

In its development Virginia literature typifies the progress of the still greater body of American literature; it shows the effects of the same general environment, it responds to the same potent influences, it exhibits the same lines of growth. It is, too, the representative literature, as for many years it was the only literature, of that peculiarly interesting section of the American nation called the South. Furthermore, it mirrors a civilization that has ever been unique on the American continent; it tells the

story of a race whose bravery none has impugned, whose noble qualities of head and heart challenge the admiration of the world; it breathes the spirit of a land whose love of liberty inspired the first jury trial, the first representative assembly, the first free-school, the first forcible opposition to foreign tyranny known to the western world. The final and crowning value of Virginia literature, however, is its value not as mirror or type but as literature alone,—as the artistic expression of broadly human interests by men and women of the highest intellectual caste.

Such are the considerations that will justify the future historian of Virginia's literary development in his labors. All the more will they justify the present sketch, which makes no claim to adequacy, but hopes only to outline in a general way the development of Virginia literature, to mark the peculiar social and intellectual conditions influencing that development, and to note the inherent value of a few of the productions themselves. This discussion may be faciliated by dividing Virginia's literary history into periods and considering each in turn. Obviously these are:

THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD, dating from 1607, when Jamestown was founded, to 1676, the year of Bacon's Rebellion.

THE LATER COLONIAL PERIOD, extending from 1676 to 1760, when the spirit of revolt again became rife in the land.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD, 1760–1800, the expiration of which may be considered coincident with the close of the century, since not till then was the new republic firmly established.

THE PERIOD OF UNION, 1800–1850, covering the first half of the nineteenth century and ending among the murmurings of coming storm.

THE PERIOD OF DIVISION, extending from 1850, the date of the adoption of the Clay Compromise, to 1876, a year "signalized by the centennial of our country's existence—by the peaceful decision of the Hayes-Tilden contest, the withdrawal of troops from Louisiana, and Hampton's election in South Carolina."

THE PERIOD OF REUNION, 1876 to the present day.

Let us now proceed to a consideration of these periods, noting in each instance the conditions under which the literature was produced, its general character, and its more specific forms.

The Early Colonial Period.

(1607-1676)

During the first seventy years of Virginia's literary history, environment acted with more than ordinary power. The development of a literary spirit was hampered by various adverse agencies. No wonder the colonists of this period found small time for writing; think of the task of nation-building that lay before them, the many stirring scenes through which they passed in this, the most romantic epoch of American history. These were no "piping times" and could offer but little leisure for the cultivation of literary tastes. The growth of letters was stunted principally, however, by the peculiar intellectual and social conditions obtaining throughout the colony.

The earliest settlers upon the shores of Virginia brought with them the memories of a truly merry England, the Cavalier England of broad fields and solitary castles. It was luxury and wealth, not strenuous freedom, that they hoped to find in the new world; later, as settled colonists, they strove to perpetuate, not the bustling cities of their native land but its manorial estates, rich and independent. They ultimately succeeded in their endeavor, and in their success lies the secret of the literary inactivity of their own and following generations. Despite legislative enactments, the plantation system prevented the growth of towns, and in those days of imperfect communication between isolated districts, reduced to a minimum the contact of man with man. Consequently the most important literary stimulant, the strife of intellectual powers, was largely wanting; there was no mental friction and the electric spark of genius remained unkindled. Another result of social segregation, aided and abetted by governmental opposition to education, was the slow development of a general school system, which, while it perhaps worked no great injury upon the higher classes, who were not dependent upon native schools, prevented the lower strata from

being permeated by any love of learning. Thanks, too, to Governor Berkeley, there was during this period not even a printing-press in Virginia, consequently no local publishing house to offer encouragement to literary activity. Finally, it should be remembered that the early Virginia settlers had no peculiar religious or political tenets, the maintenance of which required the multiplication of aggressive tracts, pamphlets, and sermons.

Such literature, however, as was produced during these early colonial days, notwithstanding obstacles, possesses a unique interest. Without exception the authors are Englishmen transplanted to Virginia soil, and while we may claim them by virtue of adoption, they belong equally to England by right of birth. With but a single exception the literature of this period is unconscious literature; its object was quite other than to secure literary fame for its composers. The primitive settlers upon the Powhatan found themselves in the midst of "earth's only paradise" surrounded by fair fields and primeval forests, sung to by strange birds and charmed by the fragrance of unwonted flowers, alternately ministered to and menaced by dusky savages of unknown lineage. If the multifold impressions made upon their receptive minds found written expression, it was that their brethren at home might be told of this new world and the journey to it; or that detractors might be silenced and meddlers admonished. Consequently, almost all the writings of this period belong to the same department of literature, namely the historical. Here we have a naive narrative of exploration or travel, there a vigorous description of natives or nature, but the essential historic quality remains. Not ordinary history this, indeed, for it is penned by those who have been actors in the events of which they write, whose knowledge comes at first hand, who do not stop to theorize but deliver a plain unvarnished tale. To be sure, poetry, also, is written in Virginia during these years, but poetry is an exotic transplanted from other shores, soon to wither and die; history is of native growth and possesses all the vigor of the soil from which it springs.

Foremost among the historians in both time and importance stands the redoubtable Captain John Smith, the real father of

American history. Essentially a man of action, he was yet of that many-sided type, the glory of the Elizabethan Age, and not the least of his accomplishments was the power to write virile English. Only two of Smith's many books were written during his eventful career in Virginia, but the "True Relation" and "General History of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles" are representative as to both merits and demerits. His histories possess many positive charms: vigor and earnestness characterize every statement; felicitous phraseology abounds; the page is adorned now by a flash of quaint humor, now by a touch of rare imaginative beauty. This earliest of our writers, moreover, possessed remarkable powers of observation and reproduction; he paints his vivid pictures with a few deft strokes. What, then, if his literary style be somewhat rude, his sentences misshapen? This style but brings us nearer to the noble soldier as he sits within his tent and pens these pages. His ear alertly listening for the whistle of a death-laden arrow, is not strictly attentive to the requirements of rhetorical melody of phrase; his hand, fresh from grasping the sword-hilt, handles the pen but clumsily. Nor would we have it otherwise, for more correct writing would be less natural. We need feel no shame in pointing back to the rugged literary productions of this equally rugged adventurer, for America could have had no firmer foundation on which to rear a great and permanent literature.

Of other Virginia historians but passing mention need here be made. George Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland and secretary of the colony, published in 1607 his "Discourse of Virginia," a collection of "graphic sketches of brightness and gloom," sketches full of life, not vague or softened but distinct in their primitive coloring. Another secretary, William Strachey, wrecked on the Bermudas in company with Sir Thomas Gates, made that misfortune the subject of a narrative which, in all its majestic vigor, was well worthy the honor of suggesting to Shakespeare the shipwreck scene in "The Tempest." Strachey was also the author of a "History of Travaile into Virginia Britannia," and by his collection of "Lawes Divine, Morall, and Martiall," enrolls himself as the first American contributor to

the literature of the law. The first American theologian was Alexander Whitaker, the "apostle of Virginia," whose kind and gentle pity, earnest self-forgetfulness, and unshaken belief in divine guidance are made manifested in his "Good Newes from Virginia" (1613), the burden whereof is a strong and scholarly plea for the conversion of the Indians. In character quite different from the saintly Whitaker was John Pory, a convivial roisterer fresh from the sponging-houses of England. He was, however, a man of marked literary ability, which had already been made known to the world through his translation of Leo's "History of Africa," and which is further shown in his sprightly and pleasing contributions to Smith's "General History." The name of Raphe Hamor closes the list of the leading early Virginia historians, and his "True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia" (1615) gives us not the least vivid of our several pictures of the infant colony.

After the efflorescence of the first decade the flowers of historic literature seem not to have flourished on Virginia soil. The first wonder of arrival has now worn off; the difficulties of colonization present themselves with dreadful earnestness. We need not be suprised, therefore, that there ensues a literary silence lasting for some thirty years and broken only by the publication of occasional anonymous accounts of the progress of the Virginia colony, presumably by Virginians. Sir William Berkeley, indeed, who became governor in 1641, brought with him some literary reputation as the author of "The Lost Lady: a Tragi-Comedy," but in his new domain neither wrote himself nor encouraged such activity in others. On the contrary, his policy of intellectual repression, well illustrated by his famous boast, worked untold evil in hindering the production of an indigenous literature.

In 1649, however, Colonel Norwood, a Royalist refugee and kinsman of Berkeley, published a stirring account of his voyage to Virginia, his shipwreck off Hatteras, his desertion with a party of friends on an uninhabited island, his rescue by friendly Indians, and his final journey of triumph through the colony. This story is of the true Elizabethan mould, fresh and virile,

rising to occasional eloquence, characterized throughout by remarkable aptness of expression. Less polished but equally vigorous is the English of John Hammond, who tells for us in his "Leah and Rachel" (1656) the story of the "two fruitfull sisters, Virginia and Maryland." Hammond is a delightful enthusiast, and when we have finished reading his glowing and evidently sincere sketches of life in a virgin land, we feel inclined to agree with him that "those that shall blemish Virginia any more, do but like the dog, bark against the moon."

The bloodily eventful year marking the close of the first era in Virginia literature, brought with it a collection of narratives that disclose a complete change of literary fashion. These pamphlets are: "The Beginning, Progress and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion," by an author signing himself T. M.; "An Account of Our Late Troubles in Virginia, written in 1676 by Mrs. An. Cotton of Q. Creek;" and "A Narrative of the Indian and Civil Wars in Virginia in the years 1675 and 1676," by some unknown writer. Though still graphic and at times picturesque —for the freshness of the new country has not altogether lost its power over intellect and imagination—they are oftener tainted by an affectation of style, an employment of quaint conceits, a straining after humorous effects, copied from the literary mannerisms of Caroline England. Henceforth the literature of Virginia is to be more conscious of itself and more conscious in its imitation of English models.

The poetry produced in Virginia during the seventeenth century, though of limited quantity, in quality rises far above the average common to the versifiers of the same day in New England, who made those rock-bound coasts echo with the most uninspired strains that even the partial critic has ever been able to call literature. Well may we be thankful that, if the early Virginians could not write poetry, they were at least conscious of their own limitations.

R. Rich, "a soldier blunt and plain," was the first versifier of the colony. In 1610 he published in London his "Newes from Virginia," a poem of unexpected merit and unusual fluency, wherein is contained a rhymed chronicle of the wreck of Gates and Newport, their trials in the "Bermoothawes," and their

final arrival at Jamestown. The poem closes with a description of Virginia, a statement of the objects of the plantation, and a summary of the inducements offered to those that purpose "thither to repaire." There is a note of noble confidence in such a stanza as this, which bears the Governor's message to Englishmen:

"And to th' adventurers thus he writes, be not dismay'd at all
For scandall cannot doe us wrong, God will not let us fall.
Let England know our willingness, for that our work is goode;
Wee hope to plant a nation where none before hath stood."

To George Sandys, however, is generally conceded the honor of having been the first American songster; certainly he was the first professional poet in the new land. It was on the lonely banks of the James, amid all the horrors incident to and consequent upon the great Indian massacre, that this Oxford graduate and colonial secretary translated ten books of Ovid's "Metamorphoses," and thereby added new lustre to a literary fame already bright. Contemporaries lauded this poetic offering from the western continent, and such critics as Dryden, Fuller, and Pope in after years sang its praises in the highest terms. "It is a work," says Tyler, "that we may be proud to claim as in some sense ours, and to honor as the morning-star at once of poetry and scholarship in the new world." Well might Virginia, in particular, be proud, were this morning star but prophetic of the coming dawn. Alas, for more than a century and a half it shines upon the literary horizon of Virginia almost alone.

Though versatile Captain Smith indited a poem of some merit, and one John Grave sang a "Song of Zion," the only other poet of the period under consideration deserving mention is of unknown identity. His threnody on the death of Bacon found among the "Burwell Papers," is perhaps the most remarkable literary production of the period. Throbbing with emotion, breathing a genuine eloquence of grief, it might well be a fragment from some Elizabethan drama; undoubtedly it is the best original poem produced in America during the seventeenth century, and the only one worthy of comparison in point of inherent poetical value with the translations of Sandys.

THE LATER COLONIAL PERIOD.

(1676-1760)

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century the unsettled state of affairs in Virginia was destructive of all literature. Berkeley's passion for vengeance upon the rebels burnt itself out in time, but executions only gave place to extortions, and for many years Virginians needed all their wits to protect themselves from the rapacity of royal governors. There are troubles of church, of commerce, of state; not till the turning of the century does the colonial planter feel himself safe in the enjoyment of the ease that is justly his. Though little writing is done between the years 1676 and 1700, we are encouraged as to the future by such intellectual indications as the presence of the first printing-press in the colony (1681), and the establishment of the college of William and Mary (1693).

With the eighteenth century, however, comes a change of conditions. Its first fifty years have been called the golden age of Virginia. A charming age, to be sure, with its lordly manor houses and fertile plantations, its baronial planters in all their glory of frills and furbelows, but not an age of remarkable literary brilliance. Books are written, indeed, but not in English, or even New English, profusion. This literary dearth again finds explanation in those peculiarities of colonial life so inimical to letters.

The unfavorable characteristics of social life in Virginia are now more marked than ever. The burgesses have constructed towns on paper, to be sure, but the plantation system still reigns supreme. "The Houses stand sometimes two or three together; and in other Places a Quarter, half a Mile, or a Mile, or two asunder, much as in the *Country* in *England.*" The roads are bad; the new postal system conveys intelligence slowly; there is little mental contact. Slavery exists to a greater extent than in New England, but exerts no blighting influence upon literature except as it encourages the easy idleness of the planters. Intellectually the colony has made great progress, but Jones complains (1724) that the Virginians are "more inclinable to read Men by Business and Conversation than to dive into

Books, and are for the most part only desirous of learning what is absolutely necessary, in the shortest and best method;" they go frequently to England for education, however, and "yet more would be sent over were they not afraid of the Small-Pox." Though William and Mary College has been founded since 1693 and though as early as 1705 "there are large Tracts of Lands, Houses, and other Things granted to Free-Schools for the Education of Children in many parts of the country," it is worthy of note that every writer of this period has received his education in England. From 1683 to 1729 no printing was done in Virginia; from 1729 until 1766 there was but a single printing-house in the colony. There are some signs of intellectual life, however; a paper is started at Williamsburg in 1736; theatrical representations are popular at this metropolis; many Virginia gentlemen possess libraries that would not be sneered at in England. But on the whole, throughout this long period, literature receives no decided stimulus.

Passing over some religious pamphlets, hereinafter mentioned, and "A Deed of Gift for my dear son, Captain Matt. Page," by John Page of Rosewell, "a devout production full of earnestness and piety": but as literature of somewhat doubtful value, we reach the year 1705 before finding a Virginia book. At this date appeared "The History and Present State of Virginia," written by Robert Beverly, the colony's first historian of native birth. Here we have conscious, retrospective history, written for no purpose beyond giving the world a correct view of Virginia's past and present. The purely narrative portion of the book is by no means voluminous or exhaustive; it is marred by some inaccuracies and frequently colored by partisan hatred. The descriptions of the country, the Indians, and the state of the colony are more interesting and reliable. Everywhere the language is clear and straightforward, stripped of superfluities, tersely vigorous. Simpler still is the style of Hugh Jones, professor of mathematics at the college of William and Mary, sometime lecturer at Bruton Parish Church, and author of "The Present State of Virginia" (1724). The object of this work is to correct "the very erroneous and monstrous Thoughts" entertained by Englishmen respecting Virginia; the better to

accomplish his laudable purpose the learned clergyman has "industriously avoided the ornamental Dress of Rhetorical Flourishes," and tells very calmly and candidly what he knows about his adopted home. The educational, religious, and commercial systems of Virginia receive his special attention, the attention, as it proves, of a man of shrewd common-sense. He is a warm admirer of the colony, but no mincer of words when it becomes necessary to express his opinion of abuses; as he is bold enough to criticize, so is he honest enough to suggest improvements. Another clerical historian, whom we shall have further occasion to mention, is James Blair, chief collaborator of "The Present State of Virginia and the College," in the writing of which Henry Hartwell and Edward Chilton also had a hand. "It is expertly written; is neat and vigorous in style; abounds in facts concerning the condition of the colony at that time; and is not lacking in the courage of plain speech." William Stith is the last of the pre-Revolutionary historians, a Virginian by birth, a clergyman and teacher by profession, and an author by way of recreation. His "History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia" was published at Williamsburg in 1747, on the only printing-press then in the colony. This book is more consciously literary than any of its historical predecessors, and though seriously marred by too great minuteness, has many charms that we are forced to admire. Among these are vigor of characterization, marked descriptive power, and a simple artlessness in the treatment of touching scenes.

Hardly to be classed with the historians, whatever may be the present historical value of their writings, are two Virginia gentlemen of the highest type, whose note-books contain their impressions of men and events. The first of these gentlemen, Sir John Randolph, was Attorney-General of Virginia, and in the pages of his interesting "Breviate Book" live again his legal contemporaries. The other, "the perfect flower of his time," was William Byrd, "of Westover in Virginia, Esq." He was at once scholar and financier, farmer and ambassador, wit and scientist, philosopher and epicure. But it is William Byrd the man of letters in whom we are interested. At

random this versatile Cavalier dashed off a series of notes that are unique in the annals of our early literature, since published as "The History of the Dividing Line," "A Progress to the Mines," and "A Journey to the Land of Eden." These casual jottings in the diary of a man of affairs combine the ease of the polished gentleman, the wit of the accomplished courtier, the breeziness of the observant woodsman, the humor of the genial philanthropist. Criticism can do little toward defining the charm of these sketches, unstudied in their frankness, warm in their humanity, natural in their vitality. Fancy Sir Richard Steele transported to the American forests, changed and sobered somewhat by contact with primitive nature, forced to become a naturalist, and to devote his sarcasm to the inhabitants of Carolina; fancy what he might have written under such circumstances and you will have some idea of the literary productions of William Byrd, whose kinsmen in English literature are the polished wits of teacup times.

No poetry was written in Virginia during the second literary period, for which omission the student of the corresponding period in New England may be duly thankful. Two new forms of literature, however, call for attention: the theological and the scientific.

More than once already mention has been made of theologians, but they have appeared as the authors of secular productions. Francis Makemie, a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, who came to America in 1681, settled in Accomac, and after some persecution, wrung from the Governor permission to preach throughout Virginia, published as early 1691 an "Answer to George Keith's Libel," a pamphlet that that was highly commended and republished by the eminent Increase Mather, of Boston. Before his death in 1708, Makemie published at least four other tracts, all of a more or less controversial cast. The great theologian of this period, however, was Commissary James Blair, founder and first president of William and Mary College, already spoken of as a secular historian. The literary fame of this distinguished educator and intellectual civilizer rests principally upon his discourses on "Our Savior's Divine Sermon on the Mount." Of these five volumes Tyler says: "The tone of the author's mind is

moderate, judicial, charitable, catholic; he is not brilliant; his style is smooth, simple, honest, earnest; there is no display; he is trying to make people good." High commendation this; such as is not always deserved by those writing the voluminous sectarian diatribes of New England.

The early Virginia scientists were three in number: John Banister, John Clayton, and John Mitchell—the latter probably, in addition, the author of several historical works on America that appeared in England between the years 1755 and 1767. All were botanists, and the first a zoologist as well; all labored long and faithfully to acquaint the old world with the scientific wonders of a new hemisphere. In this connection, as technical literature, we may also note "The Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace" by George Webb (Williamsburg, 1736), the first book printed in Virginia of which record has been found.

If in number of authors the later colonial period is slightly inferior to the early, it surpasses its predecessor in the average literary merit of its productions. As a whole, the writings of this age in Virginia are characterized by a warmth, gaiety, and present-worldliness not to be found before—or elsewhere, at this time—in the literature of the American colonies.

The Period of Revolution.

(1760-1800)

The stamp of the times is indelibly impressed upon the American literature of the Revolutionary Period. True of the entire literary products of the colonies, this statement is particularly true of the literature of Virginia. Not for one moment during the long years that saw the American union conceived, born, and nursed into strength was the atmosphere of Virginia favorable to the growth of any literature save that bound up with the struggle for the firm establishment of civil liberty; matters far other than literary absorbed the great part of men's attention. Whether we insist or deny that Patrick Henry of Virginia was the first to set the revolutionary ball in motion, all are forced to agree that Virginia and Virginians were well to the front in every crisis of the times that tried men's souls. It was

the sons of the royalty-loving Old Dominion that marshalled the American armies on the field of battle, or shaped the policies of the young republic on the floor of conventions. Virginia first protested against the Stamp Act; first proposed colonial committees of correspondence; first called for a general congress; first shed her blood in the Indian prelude to the great struggle; first declared herself a free and independent state. In the more critical days that followed the cessation of conflict none labored more faithfully to build staunch the ship of state than did Virginians. What more natural, therefore, than that every intellectual energy should have been devoted to the service of liberty; that the literature produced should have paid allegiance not to some classic muse but to the goddess of freedom! Little conscious literature was written in Virginia during these forty years, but never were Virginia's literary annals brighter, for her great authors moulded the thought of a nation and sent forth their words to find responsive echoes in the hearts of European multitudes.

In such a sketch as this, one is constrained to forget the requirements of artistic proportion and pass lightly over well-known names to dwell at greater length upon others less renowned. Let us dismiss with a word the four great authors whom every child has been taught to reverence as statesmen. In a sense remarkably literal all were men of *letters*, and it is in their correspondence, perhaps, that we see their style at its best. Here are made manifest the simple grandeur of Washington, the nervous, virile logic of Jefferson, Madison's solidity of argument, Monroe's gentlemanly scholarship. The literary fame of these men, however, is based upon other productions than their letters. Washington is best known for his "Farewell Address," in its nobility, sincerity, and high-minded patriotism, the perfect mirror of the man. The rounded, sonorous periods of the "Declaration of Independence" will always make Jefferson "the best known American author," even though his "Autobiography" and valuable "Notes on Virginia" should come to be forgotten. Madison's chief contributions to literature were his essays in the "Federalist," remarkable for their argument-

tative excellence and stately eloquence of phrase. Monroe, the last of this great group, was the author of "The People the Sovereigns" and "A View of the Conduct of the Executive," which were justly praised by English critics for their honest good sense and republican sincerity.

Virginia may boast also of a second group of legal and political writers hardly less eminent than those just mentioned. Richard Bland, "the Virginia antiquary," stands foremost among these, both in point of time and in point of having been considered "the first writer in the colony." His "Enquiry into the Rights of the Colonies" (1760) has been said to contain the first sound argument of the revolution, its only fault being found in its conservative author's disinclination to follow his arguments to their logical conclusion. A few years later Dr. Arthur Lee wrote from London his "Monitor's Letters" and "Letters of Junius Americanus," and made eloquent appeal to the people of Great Britain in the interest of his oppressed countrymen. Richard Henry Lee, author of the "Letters of the Federal Farmer," was known as the Cicero of the House of Burgesses and was noted for his chaste style, vigorous conciseness, and wealth of classical allusion. George Mason, one of the greatest Virginians of that great day, wrote, in addition to many clear and powerful letters, since collected, that remarkable document whose highest encomium is the fact that Jefferson embodied whole phrases from it in his Declaration,—the famous Virginia "Bill of Rights." Edmund Randolph, first Attorney-General of the State, published in 1795 a vigorous "Vindication of his Resignation," which completely exonerated him from all the charges of his enemies. Robert C. Nicholas, John Camm, and Landon Carter were among the earliest phamphleteers of the period; the latest was James T. Callendar, a political exile from Britain, a partisian of Jefferson's, and editor of a Richmond paper. His chief politio-historical works were his "History of the United States for 1796," "Sketches of the History of America," and "The Prospect Before Us." The latter, a violent attack upon the administration of President Adams, caused the trial and conviction of its author, and likewise worked the ruin of the Alien and Sedition laws.

Although the political authors just mentioned were essentially makers, and consequently writers, of history, there were no professed historians in Virginia during the revolutionary period. The absence of this form of literary production was more than made up for by the birth of oratory and the re-birth of poetry.

Far above his fellows in oratorical ability towered Patrick Henry, who spoke "as Homer wrote" and electrified his hearers with his impassioned, unrestrained eloquence. No man could resist the potent spell of this wonderful magician, who charmed by native eloquence as spontaneous as the music of the birds, the rush of the cataract, or the portentous thunder of the storm. Vainly we regret that the matchless efforts of the "foremost orator on the continent" have been preserved to us only at second-hand. Far less is left of the oratory of his contemporaries, who have suffered the Elizabethan fate of being eclipsed by one mightier than they. Richard Henry Lee, Edward Randolph, Edward Pendleton, George Wythe, George Mason—seldom in the annals of oratory have such men appeared to grace a single period in a single state.

In revolutionary days even the pulpit became a coign of vantage from which to hurl the thunderbolts of logic upon the heads of political heretics. Among the most noted Royalist divines in America was Jonathan Boucher, an Englishman, rector in Virginia and Maryland until 1775, when his pulpit was closed against him and he was forcibly ejected from the country. After his return to England he puplished (London, 1797) "A view of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution in thirteen discourses preached in North America between the years 1763 and 1775," a work characterized by independence of opinion and refined nobility of tone. Doubtless Virginia produced other noteworthy pulpit orators, both patriot and tory, but their discourses have not been preserved to literary notice.

We have seen that Virginia's noblest colonial poem was written in time of revolution. For a century thereafter poetry ceased to exist; another revolution was needed to revive the lost art. Not all of this new poetry, to be sure, bears any close connection with the stirring age in which it was written. "Hearts of Oak" and "Virginia Hearts of Oak" are, to be sure, songs

that ring with love of liberty. Theodoric Bland wrote a poem of some note commemorating the American victory at Lexington. Dr. Arthur Lee is supposed by Tyler to have been the author of "a somewhat pugnacious satire in verse entitled 'Oppression.'" St. George Tucker, the eminent jurist, harshly satirizes John Adams and his fellow Federalists in "The Probationary Odes of Jonathan Pindar, Esq., a cousin of Peter's." Finally, Colonel Robert Munford, an officer of the Revolution, writes the first Virginia dramas, "The Candidates" and "The Patriots," wherein he depicts the corruption of early politics. But the best known poems produced in Virginia before the nineteenth century were two fugitive pieces, unconnected with revolution and the birth of a republic. One, "The Belles of Williamsburg," a series of charming poetical pictures, was written by Judge Tucker and Dr. James McClurg—the latter already noted for the classic style of his medical essays. Concerning the other poem, of which Judge Tucker was sole author, we are told that John Adams once declared he would rather have written "Days of My Youth" than any lyric of Milton or Shakespeare.

In a burst of glory, poetical, oratorical, political, closes the third period of Virginia's literary history. By defending the republic with pen as well as sword, Virginia's sons have won literary fame for themselves and placed fresh laurels upon their mother's brow. With the peace that has settled upon the land comes a broader literary influence. Henceforth we can do no more than trace in a general fashion the main course of this swelling stream.

THE NATIONAL PERIOD.

(1800-1850)

Various causes worked together to produce the marked expansion of Virginia literature observable during the first fifty years of the nineteenth century. Prominent among these was the peaceful prosperity of a state rent by no strife more serious than that of partisan politics. The early friction of governmental machinery had been removed, and the wheels moved smoothly and silently. Of yet greater literary influence

was the multiplication of schools within the borders of the State. Among the more important educational institutions flourishing in Virginia between 1800 and 1850 were Hampden-Sidney, the University of Virginia, Randolph-Macon, Richmond College, Washington College, the Virginia Military Academy, Emory and Henry, and the Episcopal Theological Seminary. The establishment of periodicals and the increase of publishing-houses acted with still greater directness upon literature. We notice at least five magazines, pre-eminent among them the *Southern Literary Messenger*, that flourished or failed to flourish in Virginia during the National Period; newspapers were far more numerous and more widely read; printing presses issuing books performed their labors of enlightenment in many towns besides the capital. The very existence of such towns was another circumstance conducive to literary activity; with increased mental friction came increased interest in producing literature and in literature as produced.

These improved conditions were a powerful stimulus to literary development, but they were neither numerous nor strong enough to counteract adverse influences. Though the charge made against Virginia— and the South—of literary barrenness during this period, has only a meagre justification in facts; though Northern literary supremacy is often largely a matter of thorough exploitation, at the hands of partial critics, of all the North's available literary claims, it cannot be denied that a certain disparity is revealed when we place side by side the history of letters in Virginia and the corresponding annals of the New England States. We need not be ashamed to point to what Virginians wrote, if we will first seek to find why they did not write more books and better books.

We have seen that towns had multiplied, but we must remember that the plantation, not the town, was still the unit of Virginia society. The continuance of that isolation so destructive to literature, was in large measure due to the predominant agricultural activities of the State, her geographical peculiarities, and the necessity resting upon her planters to furnish employment to their large inheritance of slaves. The Virginian, too,

has always felt a hatred of restraint that prompts him to seek the freedom of spreading fields rather than the cramped quarters of crowded cities.

Again, for all the blooming forth of periodicals, it is a fact demanding admission that ante-bellum Virginia did not feel any decided interest in letters, *per se*, and the lack of a literary audience discouraged both authors and publishers. The conservative Virginian admitted the literary supremacy of England long after he had achieved civil independence; he did not believe in literary excellence this side of the Atlantic and the Age of Johnson. Least of all did he believe that a fellow Virginian could write anything of lasting value. Consequently the profession of literature was not highly honored; the professional writer, when he dared to avow himself, was looked upon with a sort of scornful pity as a *faineant* whose time should be more profitably employed. Literature thus became in large measure the pastime of a dilettante who frequently concealed his identity, rather than the serious profession of earnest men. We find not a single writer of this period a man of letters by profession, save Poe, who was forced to seek his audience in the North, where, indeed, if he may be credited, the Southern author received but poor encouragement. Such literature as was produced in Virginia, despite contempt, tangibly imitated English models, and those not always of the best.

So far as concerns the charge that literary poverty was the result of intellectual feebleness, it may be denied at once. The class of Virginians that might have been expected to produce a literature, prided themselves upon their superior education and gloried in the schools whose multiplication we have noted. But theirs was classical and historical education that did not lead into literary pathways; the colleges were not centres of literary influence. The profession of the law, looked upon as a stepping-stone to political preferment, absorbed most of the intellectual ability of the State and claimed the energies that in New England would have sought a literary channel. We need not wonder at this, since literature had neither fame nor money to offer its devotees, while the law had both, besides giving scope for the ex-

ercise of the power of oratory, that inherited endowment of almost every Virginian. The supremacy of the law, moreover, resulted logically from the nature of the Virginian and his peculiar civilization. The spirit of liberty inherent in his being, joined to the habit of command incident upon his control of vast estates, made him aspire to the leadership of men, the supervision of the body politic, the power to be obtained by word of mouth rather than by touch of pen. As always, the legal-political profession proved itself the jealous mistress, and most of the literary productions that came from legal pens were merely the random jottings-down of men whose chief attention was centred elsewhere than on literary excellence, or were philosophical and polemic treatises that are literature only by accident.

Finally, the times of peace were yet times of ardent discussion, for coming tragic events already cast their shadows before. Much of the intellectual power of Virginia was dissipated in the task forever laid upon her of defending the inherited institution of slavery and solving its many problems. To say that any further repressive influence was exercised by this peculiar system is to theorize rather than to deal with facts; the declaration that slavery blights literature can be proved neither by analogy, by comparison, nor otherwise.

If, therefore, the literature of Virginia during the first half of the nineteenth century is less voluminous than we might wish, and if it is too frequently sicklied o'er with the pale cast of amateurishness, these shortcomings find explanation in the prevaling quality of the environment, not in the mental incapacity of the people.

Among the forms of literary production found for the first time during this period, we note first various narrative and descriptive works, largely accounts of travels, now numerous enough to be embraced in a separate class. One of the most entertaining of these volumes contains the journals of Captains Lewis and Clarke, whom we follow with interest in their thrilling trip, the first across the continent, breathing the pure, fresh air of nature, marvelling at the wonders of the mighty wilderness. A notorious and detested writer of books of travel was

Mrs. Anne Royall, editor of a black-mailing publication issued at Washington, who always found numerous purchasers for her volumes among prominent politicians who were inspired with a wholesome respect for her vituperative abilities. She seems to have been such a virago that one hesitates to speak of her as the first authoress of Virginia. Altogether of a different kind was the literary reputation of Mrs. William C. Rives, who wrote "Tales and Souvenirs of a Residence in Europe," and "Home and the World;" her flowing style and powers of picturesque description received marked commendation from such a critic as Washington Irving. Here should be included Wirt's "Letters of a British Spy," written with much ease and spirit, several passages in which have deservedly become famous. "A Voyage up the River Amazon," by William H. Edwards appeared in 1847 and was praised for its interest and novelty. In point of instructive value, however, Lynch's "Narrative of the Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea" (1849) probably surpasses the other productions of the class.

The writing of biography originates in Virginia with Marshall's "Life of Washington" (1804), a model of careful and painstaking investigation, laborious historical accuracy, and simple perspicuity of style, yet lacking the saving grace of human interest. Far more popular was the biography of Washington by Mason Locke Weems, preacher, book-agent, poet, and romancer extraordinary, whose various biographical volumes have had an immense circulation, chiefly because of their picturesque disregard of the limitations of truth. William Wirt, an eminent Virginia lawyer, attained more lasting eminence by the publication, in 1818, of his "Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry," still the most widely-read account of this great statesman's career. As literature, the volume suffers in that the author's love of sonorous sentences frequently leads him into bombast; as history, in that his appreciation of dramatic values sometimes seduces him into inaccuracy. The lives of Richard Henry Lee and Arthur Lee were ably written by Richard Henry Lee, the younger. Another of the great Virginians, Thomas Jefferson, may be seen to advantage through the pages

of Thomas J. Randolph and George Tucker. "The Life of John Hampden," by Col. William C. Rives, has been pronounced "a masterpiece of philosophical biography," but is less well known than the same author's "History of the Life and Times of James Madison," which by date of publication (1859-1868) falls without the limits of the present period.

The creditable group of histories produced in Virginia during the national period is capable of very interesting subdivision. Of general histories of Virginia we note three: Burk's (1804), Howison's (1847), and Campbell's (1840—rev. and enl. 1860). Each of these works, the last especially, is of great value, but each has its faults. The first is at times too florid in style; the second, while pleasing, is somewhat tedious; the third sacrifices literary beauty to the demands of thoroughness and accuracy. Particular sections of the State are treated in Withers' "Chronicles of Border Warfare," published at Clarksburg in 1831, and the "History of the Valley" (Winchester, 1833) by Samuel Kercheval, who has been aptly styled the Froissart of Transmontane Virginia. Bothbooks are based upon tradition rather than upon official records; both remain authorities on events of minor significance, though superseded in regard to more important historical occurrences. Virginia historians, however, did not feel themselves limited by the confines of their native state. Robert Greenhow wrote a thoroughly reliable "History of Oregon and California," besides histories of the Northwest Coast and Tripoli. Benjamin F. French first won for himself fame as a historical investigator by the publication of "Historical Collections" dealing with Lousiana, his adopted home, to be followed by more complete volumes of the same general character. Another class of histories were those concerned with subjects purely military. Several of these, such as Lee's "Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States" and Clark's "Sketches of the Campaign in the Illinois," possess the peculiar interest of having been written by men who were themselves chief actors in the scences they describe. The first-named book is characterized by distinct literary merit and has passed through several editions. Non-participant authors of military

histories were Congressman Claiborne and Henry Lee, the younger. The former published "Notes on the War in the South;" the latter, besides being the author of "a spirited work on Napoleon and a pungent volume on Jefferson" wrote his "Campaign of 1781" to defend against hostile comment the military exploits of his father's legion.

Even more creditable than the histories, biographies, and books of travel just considered, are the expository and argumentative productions of the period. Especially worthy of our attention are the constitutional treatises of John Taylor of Caroline, whose books Mr. Jefferson considered indespensable in the library of the statesman or the philosopher. Another vigorous expounder of Virginia's constitutional views was Judge Abel P. Upshur, whose "Brief Inquiry into the Nature and Character of Our Federal Government" has always ranked among the ablest presentations of the "states' rights" doctrine. The Tuckers, Henry St. George and Nathaniel Beverly, both published volumes of lectures on constitutional topics; a third Tucker, George, essayist, biographer, and historian, was the author of many valuable works on economic subjects. In the study of this science, however, he had been preceded by Dr. Thomas R. Dew, whose lectures on the "Restrictive System" appeared in 1829. Governor Tazewell, also made important contributions to the commercial history of the country. Essays of a more popular character were written by William Wirt, whose "Old Bachelor" exhibits clearly the baneful effects of imitation, and by James M. Garnett, whose "Lectures on Female Education" might be studied with profit at the present day. The pioneer of literary criticism in America was the Virginian, Poe, who did inestimable service to the literature of the country by his caustic comments upon the worthless productions of the age. For all his personal bias, his partiality toward women, and his love of the branding-iron, his thoughtful judgments of men and books have seldom been reversed by time and are well worthy of a prominent place in that great body of critical essays which, taken by and large, forms no inconsiderable or unimportant part of American literature.

The oratorical efforts of the many able men whose profound utterances graced the forum, had they been preserved to us in more instances, would have added a large and characteristic element to the literature of the period. Only a very few of this group of orators, however, are known to literature through the written form of their orations; of these few, three demand our passing attention: William Wirt, counsel in the celebrated trial of Aaron Burr, which is remembered by the public largely through fragments remaining from Wirt's great speech; John Randolph of Roanoke, the greatest master of scathing and satirical invective America has yet produced; and, greatest of all, the most natural and spontaneous speaker of the great senatorial triumvirate, the mighty Clay, whom Virginia will always be proud to claim as her son.

It cannot be stated with accuracy to whom belongs the honor of having written the first novel to be found in Virginia literature. One John Davis, probably a Virginian, published at New York in 1806 "The First Settlers of Virginia: a Historical Novel exhibiting a view of the rise and progress of the colony at Jamestown," certainly the first of the long line of romances dealing with Virginia and her people, in which is treated almost every stirring or romantic event in the history of colony and state. In 1829 there appeared in Richmond a novel by James E. Heath entitled "Edgehill," which long continued popular, and was the first novel to issue from a Virginia press. Virginia fiction, however, is said by Cooke to have begun with the writings of Dr. William A. Carruthers, author of "The Cavaliers of Virginia" and "The Knights of the Golden Horse-Shoe," as well as other books of lesser note. The first of these, dealing with Bacon's Rebellion, is marred by stiffness of style, unnaturalness of conversation, and historical inaccuracy; the second, upon which rests the author's fame, is said to present a graphic picture of life in the days of Spotswood. Both are respectable but not remarkable productions, which at least recognize the principle that a novelist should deal with familiar scenes. Other Virginia writers of fiction followed, among them Dr. Ruffner, Mrs. Martha F. Hunter, and James S. French, but their productions

showed no peculiar literary excellence. Much the most noteworthy novels of the period were Tucker's "George Balcombe" and "The Partisan Leader." The former Poe regarded "upon the whole as the best American novel." The latter, an incomplete fragment, is strangely remarkable from the fact that its events are moved forward twenty years and are supposed to occur at a time when President Van Buren is enjoying his third term, the federal government is centralized into a virtual monarchy, and the Southern states, except Virginia, have withdrawn from the Union. The most interesting tribute to the author's power of prophecy in thus foretelling, however inaccurately, the great civil struggle, is to be found in the strange fact that this book, suppressed shortly after its original publication, was reissued in New York in 1861 under the title "A Key to the Disunion Conspiracy" and was submitted to the world as evidence of a long meditated plot on the part of Southern political leaders to overthrow the Union. Considered apart from its interesting predictions and the absurd circumstances of its republication, this book will disappoint the modern reader. Its movement is slow and cumbersome, its style though ornate is stilted, though chaste is lifeless. Indeed there was little native vigor in any of the romances of this first period of fiction; the curse of imitation had fallen upon them, for the cult of Scott reigned throughout the land. Only the inimitable Poe, among Virginians, rose superior to limitations of time or space and produced those masterpieces of the story-teller's art which shall never lose their charms while man has blood to run cold, a heart to palpitate, or a being to render in abject submission to the potent charms of the greatest of literary magicians.

Before considering the crowning glory of the period, its poetry, let us glance briefly at Virginia's many valuable contributions to the medical, legal, and other technical literature of the day. Among the most noted of the theologians were: Dr. Ruffner, already mentioned as a novelist, whose "Fathers of the Desert" was considered a work of great and thorough scholarship; his fellow Presbyterians, Moses Hoge and Archibald Alexander, the one renowned chiefly for his strikingly beautiful and

effective sermons, the other for his popular religious treatises wherein abstract problems are discussed with the greatest clearness; still another noted Presbyterian, John Holt Rice, editor of the *Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine;* Alexander Campbell, the great reformer, powerful in debate; the Baptists Taylor and Broaddus; the Methodist Thornton, author of "the most extensive investigation of slavery yet seen;" and Devereux Jarratt, the only Episcopal contributor to the theological literature of the times. Among physicians, John Kearsley Mitchell and Robley Dunglison, sometime professor at the University of Virginia, produced numerous and valuable medical treatises. Marshall's "Writings upon the Federal Constitution," Hening's invaluable "Statutes at Large," and a variety of learned productions by such eminent lawyers as Davis, Lomax, Holcombe, Robinson, *et als*,—these are but a few of Virginia's contributions to the literature of the law. Rogers in geology, and Courtney and Bonnycastle in mathematics, proved themselves masters of their chosen subjects. But by far the best known scientist of Virginia, if not of America, was Matthew Fontaine Maury, a physicist without rival, whose investigations and discoveries gained for their author honor at home and abroad and won him the proud title of Pathfinder of the Ocean. His many writings may well find a place in our literature since he relieves the technicality of his subject with touches of poetic imagination, true eloquence, and genuine humor, while his purely literary essays contributed to the *Southern Literary Messenger* are graceful and airy to a degree. Literature no less than science should take care that the name of Maury be not forgotten.

Though her atmosphere was not favorable to professional poets, ante-bellum Virginia was by no means utterly devoid of poetical talent. As poets whose literary fame rests chiefly upon some basis other than their poetry, we may note Burk, Weems, Mitchell, and Janney. The first-named wrote two tragedies entitled "Bethlem Gabor" and "Bunker Hill;" the imaginative parson added "Hymen's Recruiting Sergeant" to the poetic treasures of his country's literature; Dr. Mitchell

published "St. Helena" and other poems of some slight merit; Dr. Janney's "Last of the Lenape" has been extensively praised for its pure and gentle beauty. Among other minor versifiers of the early years of the century were Daniel Bryan, author of "The Mountain Muse;" William Maxwell, who produced two volumes of verse; Judith Lomax, whose "Notes of an American Lyre" appeared at Richmond in 1813; one C. Lumsden, of Petersburg; Thomas J. Semmes, the first student of the University of Virginia to publish a volume of poems; Mrs. Mary W. Webster, author of "Pocahontas: a Legend;" and Geo. W. P. Curtis, who chose the same Indian queen as the heroine of his "national drama." Of greater literary merit are the "Scraps" of John Collins McCabe, the various longer poems by Robert Tyler, the President's son, and the genuinely poetical productions of St. Leger L. Carter, whose "Powhatan" contains passages of rare beauty. The poems and translations of Richard Dabney give evidence of scholarship and taste, but pre-eminence in translation belongs of right to William Munford. His "Iliad," published in two volumes at Boston (1846), furnishes a lasting memorial of the author's exact learning and literary ability; as a translation, it is more Homeric than Pope's, smoother than Cowper's, but less poetic and vigorous than Chapman's. But of all the poetic effusions just mentioned not one has enjoyed any such general popularity as one or two of the simple love-lyrics and tripping ballads of Philip Pendleton Cooke, who at the time of his early death gave promise of becoming one of the most famous of American poets.

Above the mild chorus of these minor singers rises clear and melodious a strange, wild note, varying little in its weird beauty, ever mournful, ever haunting. The music of the voice becomes more and more apparent with the lapse of years, and American critics grow more and more ready to recognize Edgar Allan Poe as one of the very greatest of American poets, while their foreign brethren are inclined to go still farther and declare him the greatest literary artist the New World has yet produced. While he was a poet of no age or clime, a strange dreamer from "the land east of the sun and west of the moon," he always

called himself a Virginian, and it is not difficult to find some traces of Virginia influence in both his prose and his verse. Of that verse, so often the subject of criticism, little need here be said save that within its limited sphere it has never yet been surpassed; as rythmical creations of beauty, wherein sound and sense answer and combine to work their subtle effect upon the reader's brain, Poe's poems are without parallel in our language. He did not—perhaps could not—write a vast body of verse, but his slender production stands alone in its chaste beauty; and when the "sweet bells jangled out of tune" too quickly broke and were hushed in everlasting silence, the world had lost one of its rarest singers, a genius divinely dowered, who was forced to offer the fragile wares of his sensitive soul at the marts of a selfish and unfeeling world.

With the mention of this last, the greatest name in Virginia's literary annals, we may well close our consideration of the ante-bellum literature of the State. John Esten Cooke has well summarized the general characteristics of the period: "Many writers of admirable attainments and solid merits have produced works which have instructed and improved their generation; and to instruct and improve is better that to amuse. Whatever may be the rank of the literature, it possesses a distinct character. It may be said of it with truth that it is notable for its respect for good morals and manners; that it is nowhere offensive to delicacy or piety; or endeavors to instill a belief in what ought not to be believed. It is a very great deal to say of the literature of any country in the nineteenth century."

The Period of Disunion.

(1850-1876)

The quarter-century of civil disunion was both favorable and unfavorable to the literary development of Virginia. For ten of these years Virginia essayed the role of peacemaker and vainly endeavored to restore harmony among her sister states; for five more she was torn by all the mingled emotions of joy and sorrow incident upon a war unequalled for fierceness in the history of man; for the final ten she lay crushed under

heel of oppression more terrible than the devastations of an army with banners. But it has always been in great crises that the intellectual majesty of Virginia has shone forth most resplendent. Never did her jurists argue more eloquently than when defending the rights of their native state; never did her poets sing more sweetly than when voicing the glory, grief, and gloom of the Confederacy; never did her biographers prove themselves more worthy than when recording the deeds of Virginia's chosen chieftains; never did her novelists reach a higher plane than when depicting the romantic greatness of Virginia's past or the noble heroism of her present. The literature produced between the years 1850 and 1876 is the most symmetrically rounded, the highest in purely literary average, that has yet appeared in Virginia, the literature of reunion perhaps excepted.

It is particularly interesting to trace the course of biography between 1850 and 1876. In the years of fierce discussion, bitter recrimination, and threatened disruption, immediately preceding the Civil war, Virginia seems to have looked back with especial pride to the careers of her great sons of former days, the makers of the nation. Washington was the subject of a popular biographical volume by Schmucker; G. W. P. Custis, adopted son of the first president, published in 1860 his "Recollections and Private Memoirs of George Washington." The life of Thomas Jefferson was written by the same Schmucker, and also by Hugh A. Garland, whose masterpiece is his interesting and instructive "Life of John Randolph." In 1855 appeared Baldwin's "Party Leaders," a volume of biographical sketches, dealing principally with the great Virginians of the past. After 1860, however, Virginia biographers chose different subjects, and only in Mrs. Randolph's "Domestic Life of Jefferson" do we find the ancient worthies again appearing prominently in literature. The lustre of the past seemed equalled if not dimmed by the glories of the present; no actions were so worthy of commemoration as the gallant achievements of the leaders of the Confederacy. The meteoric career of Stonewall Jackson became a favorite theme with biographers immediately after the death of the great chieftain at Chancellorsville. Dabney's, McCabe's, and Cooke's

lives of Jackson all appeared as early as 1863. Of these, the first is probably the most accurate, though tedious at times; the last is the most popular, and if not exhaustive is at least interesting, is vivid if not profound. The domestic side of Jackson's life is emphasized in Mrs. Randolph's study of the great hero, which appeared in 1876. Though still alive, General Lee was as popular a biographical figure as was Jackson. McCabe's "Life of Lee" was published in 1867, Pollard's "Lee and His Lieutenants" in the same year, Miss Mason's "Popular Life of Robert E. Lee" in 1870, and Cooke's "Life of Lee" in 1871. Pollard, just mentioned, wrote also a "Life of Jefferson Davis," less valuable than that of the unsympathetic Alfriend, which is really a history of the war, its causes and consequences. Avirett's "Ashby" (1867) is interesting because of its subject-matter rather than its literary form. Among the lives of soldiers and statesmen must be included the autobiography of General Winfield Scott, who was certainly a great soldier, though the critics have combined in making mock at his literary efforts.

In history, too, we find the appeal to local interest predominating. Gen. Early wrote of the campaigns of Lee and of the last days of the war; Gen. Johnston passionately defended his military reputation in his well-known "Narrative;" Col. McCabe published an account of the defense of Petersburg that has been praised for clearness and accuracy. No complete histories of the State were written during this period, but Foote's "Sketches of Virginia," Forrest's "Sketches of Norfolk," and Grigsby's invaluable accounts of the conventions of 1776 and 1829-30 furnished material of worth for the future historian. In his "Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia," Bishop Meade performed the invaluable service of collecting many details concerning ante-bellum days that would otherwise have been lost. Here, too, may be mentioned W. W. Bennet's "Methodism in Virginia," a notable addition to the ecclesiastical annals of the State. Of broader scope were the various histories of the Civil war; among them those by Brownlow and Botts, Northern sympathizers, "The Southern History of the War" by Edward A. Pollard, Peyton's "American Crisis," and Henry S. Foote's

"War of the Rebellion." Still wider in range were Professor Dew's "Digest of Ancient and Modern History," and the almost innumerable volumes of Samuel M. Schmucker and James D. McCabe, both already mentioned as biographers, and both limited in their choice of subjects only by the confines of the globe.

The non-historical narrative and descriptive productions belonging to the period of disunion are unexpectedly cosmopolitan in character. True, the strife in Virginia is reflected in such books as Mrs. Putnam's "Richmond During the War" and Mrs. McGuire's "Diary of a Southern Refugee;" in Geo. C. Eggleston's "A Rebel's Recollections," remarkable for its ready grace and skilful character portrayal, and Keiley's "In Vinculis," a graphic picture of prison life in the North. Locally interesting, too, are the sketches of Lynchburg and Richmond, written respectively by Mrs. Cabell and Sam'l Mordecai; in his "Virginia Illustrated" and "Blackwater Chronicle" David H. Strother ("Porte Crayon") has given us charming pictures of Virginia scenes and people, pictures in which sympathy and humorous appreciation aid in making the portraiture more life-like. But many of the Virginia writers of this period have described, with that natural felicity which seems almost a gift of the soil, strange sights, events, and characters in almost every quarter of the world. The writings of Mrs. Mary H. Eastman depict the Indian life of the plains with singular fidelity. Elisha Kent Kane, who spent the formative period of his life at the University of Virginia, has given us a pleasing and intimate account of his strange experiences amid the snow and ice of the boreal pole, a setting as interesting as it is novel. McSherry's "El Puchero" combines an account of General Scott's campaign with racy sketches of life in Mexico; the same country and war are pleasingly treated in Philip St. George Cooke's "Scenes and Adventures in the Army." "La Plata, the Argentine Confederation and Paraguy" by Thomas J. Page, is ranked among the standard American works of travel. Life in the mystic East is the subject of Turner's "El Khuds, the Holy;" a subject also treated in Mrs. Sarah Barclay Johnson's "Hadji in Syria," in its day a book having remarkable popularity.

Of the same general type as these narrative and descriptive works, but belonging in a class by themselves, are the "Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi," by Joseph G. Baldwin, a Virginian by birth and family, and the various writings of Dr. Geo. W. Bagby, of Richmond. Both men were humorists of a rare order. In the "Flush Times" we have quaint genre pictures of the strange, almost anomalous civilization to be found in the far South during the early years of the century, sketches wherein genuine humor tempers the satire and gives life to the characterizations. But the humorist of the South, *par excellence*, was Dr. Bagby. His "Letters of Mozis Addums" meets Artemus Ward and Bill Nye on their own peculiar ground, and will bear comparison with their best work. Without the aid of eccentric spelling, he has also produced essays and lectures that for sheer fun have few equals in the entire range of American literature. All familiar with Bagby's writings will agree that a volume made up from his best work would take precedence over many widely-praised productions of Northern humorists. His more serious efforts are polished and elegant; Thomas Nelson Page has declared his "Old Virginia Gentleman" the finest picture of ante-bellum Virginia anywhere to be found.

Under the head of expository and argumentative writings we may class many works of substantial value and literary merit, chiefly reflecting the great discussions of the day. There is nothing substantial, however, about the first of these in point of time, the flighty "Sociology for the South" and "Cannibals All" of George Fitzhugh, for in them the author pretentously defends slavery on the high ground of the failure of free society, and argues that cannibalism will inevitably result upon the emancipation of the slaves. Far more logical and scholarly is Dabney's "Defense of Virginia and the South," a vigorous justification, from all points of view, of domestic slavery as practiced in America. The constitutional discussions of the time are well represented by John Scott's "The Lost Principle," Wise's "Seven Decades of the American Union," and Bledsoe's "Is Davis a Traitor?" the last a masterly arraignment of the theories of Webster and Story. By far the ablest newspaper

pen wielded in the South during the war was that of John M. Daniel, editor of the *Richmond Examiner*, and many were the statesmen and generals that winced at reading his vitriolic editorials. Among essayists unaffected by the stormy times around them were Stephen Colwell, a political economist of some note; James T. Cabell, author of "The Testimony of Modern Science to the Unity of Mankind," and Professor Schele DeVere, who, in his "Stray Leaves from the Book of Nature" and "Wonders of the Deep," presented the great truths of natural science in wondrous stories that vie in interest with the "Thousand and One Nights."

At no time were Virginia theologians more prolific as authors than immediately before, during, and just after the war. At most we can only mention in passing a few prominent names, like those of Wm. Taylor, the Methodist missionary to California; James A. Pendleton, John A. Broaddus and J. B. Jeter among the Baptists; Thomas V. Moore and W. S. Plumer, and especially James W. Alexander, Presbyterians; Meade and Sparrow of the Episcopalians; Samuel M. Janney, the great biographer of the Friends; Charles P. Kranth, a prominent Lutheran divine and apologist; and Moncure D. Conway, Unitarian, a prolific author along many lines, most of them secular. In the same didactic connection may be mentioned a few of the many writers on legal, medical, and other abstruse subjects. Minor, Daniel, Tate, Munford, and Sands were among the legal writers of note. Holcombe, Griffith, Emmet, and Bell made no small additions to the body of recorded medical knowledge. The Drapers won reputations for themselves as investigators in chemistry and medical physics. The list of text-book writers is a long one, and includes such well-known names as McGuffey, Holmes, Venable, and Ray. Shaffner the telegrapher, Southall the geologist, Edwards the naturalist, and Norris the angler, were all scientific authors of whom Virginia should be proud.

On viewing the numerous authors of fiction produced by the disunion period, we are at once and forcibly struck by the disparity of sexes, a disparity in large measure attributable, no doubt, to the exigencies of an age that called men to more prac-

tical tasks than the fashioning of romances. Of these many women authors, but two or three are still remembered. The stories of Mrs. Rebecca Harding Davis, who spent the first twenty years of her life in Virginia, are still popular because of their earnest, sympathetic presentation of the great problems of life. In the early seventies appeared "The Holcombes" and "Women" by Mrs. Mary Tucker Magill, in which a carefully studied local background gives verisimilitude to stories of no mean literary value. More popular have been and still are the many novels of Mrs. Mary V. Terhune ("Marion Harland"), the earliest of which belong to the period here considered. Mrs. Terhune writes with distinct literary ease and tells simple, wholesome stories, whose lasting popularity is the best evidence of their merit. It is because their works possessed no merits other than ephemeral that we no longer hear of Miss Dupuy and her much-read blood-and-thunder, gore-saturated volumes; of the various and sundry romances of Mrs. Cutler, Mrs. Wright, Mrs. Downing, Mrs. Putnam, and Miss Whittlesey. Of the two masculine romancers of the period, one was St. George Tucker, whose "Hansford: a Tale of Bacon's Rebellion" is a historical novel of some value. The second was one of the greatest novelists ever nurtured on Virginia soil—John Esten Cooke. A romancer of the old school, well versed in Virginia traditions, endowed with vivid imaginative powers, and possessed to a great degree of the art of winning and holding the reader's attention, he first devoted himself to the task of reproducing and revivifying the Virginia life of olden days in such stories as "Fairfax," "Henry St. John," "The Youth of Jefferson," and "The Virginia Comedians," the latter pronounced by a competent critic the best novel written in the South before the war. After serving on Gen. Stuart's staff during the great civil struggle, he turned his efforts at the close of hostilities to the task of depicting the actions and passions, the glories and regrets of the Southern soldiery, in a series of romances of which "Surry of Eagle's Nest" and "Mohun" are the best known, and which for all their crudities and sins against art, remain perhaps the best of our Southern war novels—certainly the best in point of vigor and vividness.

Oftentimes when the mailed hand of war plucks rudely at the quivering heart-strings, the consonant chords of the lyre echo with the noblest music. No wonder, then, that much of the most melodious poetry ever written in Virginia was directly inspired by the dissensions of 1850-1876; that the four poets who, under Poe, are the greatest Virginia has yet produced, are in no small degree laureates of the Civil war. John R. Thompson, editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, wrote many of the most stirring military ballads of the Confederacy, lyrics instinct with brave defiance. After the close of the war, Father Ryan sang in tenderest tones the despairs of a conquered people, whose sobs seem to echo in his every line. Less despondent was the message of James Barron Hope, who, beside flower-strewn graves and marble shafts, pointed bravely forward to the future and its duties. Mrs. Margaret J. Preston, too, devoted much of her genuine poetic genius to the service of the South; her "Beechenbrook: a Rhyme of the War," which contains the celebrated "Slain in Battle," is a narrative of the conflict not deserving the oblivious disregard which has been its lot. Less renowned singers of Southern patriotism were Mrs. Cornelia J. Jordan, whose "Corinth" was burned by the Federal authorities as being objectionable and incendiary; Mrs. Fannie H. Marr and Mrs. Mary McFarlane, several of whose poems breathe the breath of battle; and Col. McCabe, author of several war-time lyrics which the anthologists of America will not willingly let die.

But war and its passions by no means inspired all the lays of these and other Virginia poets. Before the opening of hostilities, Thompson and Hope did much of their best work, while a host of lesser singers burned incense upon the altars of poesy. "Poems by Matilda" appeared in 1851, James A. Bartley's "Lays of Ancient Virginia" in 1855, Lee's "Virginia Georgics" in 1858, a volume of poems by Miss Talley in 1859. The "Wind Whispers" (1856) by Mrs. French was followed (1859) by her drama "Iztalilro." After the war appeared several volumes of verse but slightly affected by the events of the struggle, prominent among which was Mrs. Downing's "Pluto," a playful effusion showing genuine ability. Judge Lucas issued his first poetic volume, "The Wreath of Eglantine," in 1869. One of

the most skilful of the poets of Virginia birth, and one whose work covers the entire period here studied, was Christopher P. Cranch, transcendentalist and Brook Farmer, who adds to the quiet spirituality of the profound thinker the artist's appreciation of the beautiful. The post-bellum poems of Ryan and Hope that bear no traces of war-times are by no means inconsiderable, whether regarded as to quantity or as to quality; the numerous poetic volumes issued by Mrs. Preston until the time of her death in 1897 are cosmopolitan in scene and interest.

Taken all in all, the poetry written between the years 1850 and 1876 is more evenly meritorious than that of any other period in Virginia literary history. We have noted at least four poets that deserve a secure niche in the temple of literature. Thompson's poems exhibit a decided fluency of versification, sparkling wit, playful fancy, humor and pathos of the most genuine sort. Many of his translations from Beranger and other French poets have not yet been surpassed for fidelity and grace of reproductive power. Hope, too, though his work is very unequal, deserves to be remembered, if only for his "Charge at Balaklava," often compared with Tennyson's similar poem; many of his more extended efforts such as the "Washington Ode" and the "Jamestown Ode," read at request of Congress, breathe a broad and noble patriotism that impresses us with its sincerity. Too great facility of versification, coupled with a certain sameness of tone, has obscured the real merit of the poetry of Father Ryan, the Southland's poet-priest, for underneath the smooth surface lurks a depth of tenderness, of passion, of mighty woe, that only the Southerner can appreciate to the full. Much of Mrs. Preston's best poetry belongs to a subsequent period, but from the first she showed herself endowed with genuine ability. Her muse is a gentle, not a fiery one, and rarely soars with her far above earthly levels. Charm of expression, imaginative grace, moral and spiritual nobility—these are the qualities that will endear her verses to those who turn with gratitude to "the simple and heartfelt lay."

The Period of Reunion.

(1876- ——)

For several reasons it seems neither necessary nor desirable to consider the literature of reunion in the specific manner employed in treating of the preceding literary periods. First of all, this literature is too recent to admit of just criticism; we have not yet the proper perspective to aid us in formulating judgments. Not only is the seal of time wanting upon this literature, but many of its authors themselves are yet alive, and their best work is still to do. It would be unfair to consider as final that which we have reason to hope is but an earnest of better things to come; the task, moreover, of criticising the living is ever an ungrateful one. Finally, the period itself is incomplete. The same forces that have acted upon Virginia during the last twenty-five years are still acting, and promise to be the dominant developing factors in the years to come. It is needless to discuss them at length, for they may be felt on every hand, their spirit inhaled with every passing breath. Slowly but surely the peculiarities of ante-bellum Virginia are wearing away, and the typical Virginian is being reduced to the average American. The baron of the James is no more, his broad acres have been divided, his descendants jostle with the crowds on the streets of Virginia cities. The spirit of active commercialism is transforming the land. Bold were it to declare that the change is not a good one; in literature it has certainly been for the best. Yet the literary revolution is not complete. Not yet is the calling of letters the noblest of all callings. Not yet, says Page, does the Virginian realize that a man can write books and still be a good lawyer; much less is the man who simply writes books a man of highest mark. For publishers and largely for audience, the Virginia author must seek the North; the most congenial literary atmosphere is still to be found without the confines of the State. Till these things are untrue; till the cities of Virginia are at least in some sense literary centres; till the atmosphere of Virginia is redolent of literary appreciation, the work of the period of reunion will not have been completed.

The historical and biographical writings of the day continue to show the same general character as those produced during the years of disunion. Military biographies are popular with the general reader, and the production of them rests as a bounden duty upon the Southern historian, anxious to see justice rendered to heroes whose mighty deeds are often belittled, whose motives are misrepresented. Lee, the idol of the South, has been considered from every point of view by such writers as Jno. William Jones, A. L. Long, and Fitzhugh Lee, the great commander's nephew. H. B. McClellan has contributed to war literature an exhaustive account of "Stuart's Cavalry Campaigns," a subject more lightly and entertainingly touched upon in Mosby's "War Reminiscences." Allen, Taylor, and others have aided in furnishing clearer accounts of the campaigns of Lee and Jackson; the "War Talks of Confederate Veterans," edited by Geo. S. Bernard, contains much valuable historical data. Less warlike are the "Life of Henry A. Wise" by his grandson, and Mrs. Susan P. Lee's "Memoirs of William Nelson Pendleton." Bradley T. Johnson's "Washington" treats largely of the patriot's private life. Altogether peaceful in tone are Tyler's historical and biographical volumes, Dabney's "Randolph," Mrs. Rowland's valuable lives of George Mason and Charles Carroll, William Wirt Henry's "Patrick Henry,"—one of the most satisfactory of American biographical productions—and Trent's "William Gilmore Simms," a masterly, if prejudiced, volume that early heralded its author as the rising critic of the South. Here, too, should be mentioned Conway's "Life of Edmund Randolph," one of the most valuable historical productions from the pen of that prolific clergyman. As typical of a sort of writing in which Virginians are prone to indulge may be cited Hayden's "Virginia Genealogy," and "Lee of Virginia" by Edmund Jennings Lee.

Local history continues, and rightly so, to demand attention; Slaughter, Peyton, and Waddell have all garnered much valuable material for the future historian of the State. The great Virginia historian is still to appear, though recent years have given us the most interesting and literary account of the Old Dominion yet written: Cooke's "Virginia," a work which will prob-

ably outlive the author's novels. Bruce, too, has written the economic history of the State in the seventeenth century, while Alexander Brown has filled many volumes with his valuable discoveries concerning the earliest years of the nation, masses of cold, unrelieved fact that prove him a typical member of the dry-as-dust historical school. Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas have been historically treated by authors of Virginia birth; other Virginians have gone still farther afield and found France, China, Japan, Morocco, Cuba, interesting subjects for their pens.

Partly historical and partly expository are the writings of W. W. Willoughby and his brother, and those of Richard W. Thompson, all Virginians by birth. The most concise exposition of Southern constitutional theories yet produced is Curry's "Southern States of the American Union," but one of many volumes from this gifted pen, just (1903) laid aside at death's bidding. By far the ablest among the expository historians of Southern birth is Woodrow Wilson, of Staunton, whose recent "History of the United States" promises to become a standard work.

War experiences have naturally continued to be popular with narrative and descriptive writers. Wilkinson, McCarthy, and Maury have given us vivid pictures of war and its blended horrors and humors. Not limited to war, though largely dealing with it, is "The End of an Era" by John S. Wise, one of the cleverest books written in recent years. The old-time South, with its breath of roses and flutter of faded silks, lives again in the pages of Miss Burwell and Mrs. Smedes, who write of the past with love and reverence. Less frequently than of yore such authors as Dr. Harrison carry us abroad and show us the beauties of foreign climes.

During late years Virginia has produced but few theologians of literary note, among whom the principal are Granberry, Kerr, McKim, and Toy. Few eminent medical treatises have been produced by Virginians during the last twenty-five years; few noteworthy volumes have been added to the literature of the law. In the production of valuable text-books, however, there has been no perceptible diminution; rather, an increase.

In respect to poetry, Virginia, like the world at large, seems to be suffering from an interregnum. If, then, we can record few names of poetic note, we must remember that the world's living poets are few. Of today's Southern singers, the sweetest and tenderest, perhaps, is of Virginia birth. Proud should his mother state be to claim that Father Tabb, who, in his quiet way, is laying the foundation of something more than passing fame. His muse is content to guide him through gentle pastures: the rocky heights are seldom scaled; great flights of song are rarely attempted. But his brief lyrics, his simple sonnets, are bits of amber wherein are preserved the purest, loveliest gems of thought. By virtue of having once been his home, Virginia may lay part claim to William P. Johnston, a poet of more than local reputation; the verse of Charles W. Coleman, her own son, gives evidence of poetic facility; the lyrics of Mrs. Dandridge trip lightly and musically along; Gordon and Page have revived in verse the negro of past days; the "Herod and Mariamne" of the Princess Troubetzkoy (Amelie Rives) has been declared by a competent critic to surpass the similar work of Stephen Phillips in fire and vigor. The names of minor versifiers might be multiplied, but would generally prove meaningless, for, save in rare instances, their lyrics have failed to reach the public ear or strike a reponsive chord in the human breast.

If the poetic harvest of the present be somewhat scant, we may at least point proudly to our field of fiction. Here, indeed, have the authors of Virginia gone far beyond the majority of their predecessors and won for themselves much fame. Among the writers surviving from a preceding period, Mrs. Davis has continued to publish problem novels of the simpler class, and Mrs. Terhune has multiplied her productions till they cover, and cover well, every subject from castle to kitchen. For many years John Esten Cooke continued to fashion robes of romance wherewith to adorn the cavaliers of the South, till, finding himself in an age that knew him not but paid homage at realistic shrines, he relinquished literature as a profession and retired to the peace of his country home. George C. Eggleston still continues to delight a wide audience, to which he has added a large and

not uncritical quota of boys. Preeminent among living authors, however, is Thomas Nelson Page, whose first volume appeared in 1887. His style is flawless, his imagination powerful, his humor and pathos genuine, his mission of the noblest. His sketches in black and white will long,—perhaps always—remain our most faithful pictures of the South of olden days. Virginia's other noteworthy novelists of the present period have all been women, to whom be great glory that they have carried her literary fame so high. The stories of Mrs. McClelland, Mrs. Burton Harrison, and Mrs. F. C. Baylor are known throughout the country, in the North as well as in the South. The name of Miss Magruder carries with it a promise of charming grace of treatment that always appeals to the public, just as that of Miss Seawell suggests sprightliness and romantic vigor. The Princess Troubetzkoy, for all the uneven quality of her work, has been called "the most brilliant, versatile, and talented woman who has appeared in the realm of literature in recent years." Here, too, should be mentioned the name of Miss Davis, the "daughter of the Confederacy," whose early death cut short a career of much literary promise. The very latest and perhaps the best known of Virginia novelists are Misses Mary Johnston and Ellen Glasgow; both excel in grace of style and vigor of descriptive ability; though the former has the greater present reputation, it seems safe to predict that the strong, forceful novels of the latter will outlive the somewhat swashbuckling romances of her contemporary. Of the no less than forty minor novelists of the period, it seems well to mention here a few who have realized the value of depicting scenes with which they are familiar; of preserving the traditions of their native state. These are Mrs. Bouve, Mrs. Bosher, Misses Bryan, Castleman, and Ewell, Mrs. Moran and Miss Winston, John O. Casler, Graham Claytor, Virginius Dabney, and Francis Fontaine. All of these writers, however falteringly, have told some story of Virginia life, past or present; have not strayed afar after strange gods, but have written feelingly of the scenes they knew best. It is along these lines that the literature of Virginia must advance if it would be sure of its progress.

In conclusion, it may be well to note the conditions now prevalent by which that progress promises to be hastened or retarded. We have already seen that in the present period the former peculiarities of Virginia civilization so hostile to the development of literature have in large measure disappeared. Literary conservatism is vanishing; the calling of the author is coming to be more highly esteemed; the growth of literary interest is shown in the growth of Virginia publishing houses and the attempted establishment of Virginia magazines. But what Virginia needs most, and what she possesses in greater degree every day, is not mere literary interest but positive literary enthusiasm. Casting aside provincialism, ceasing to believe that England and the past hold all the treasures of literary value, realizing the inherent worth of letters and the *litterateur*, she must learn not to sneer at the efforts of her own children, however crude, but to urge them ever forward in their work. She must prove by her interest in the Virginia literature of the past that those who devote themselves to the service of letters shall never be forgotten. Yet the people of Virginia must join with their enthusiasm a firmly critical spirit, must apply the severest tests. Without despising the imperfect, they must demand nothing less than perfection. Then, indeed, will the author's calling be of the noblest. Then we will have more men and women following literature as a profession; we will have less work that is amateurish, frivolous, the pastime of idle moments. It is only by constant application and ardent apprenticeship—no half-way allegiance to letters—that Virginia authors can accomplish their task, can discharge the responsibility that rests upon them to make the literature of Virginia worthy of the State. Upon them must fall the ignominy if they fail to succeed; the means of success are ready to their hands. Virginia with her natural beauty, her noble civilization, and her glorious past, offers the fairest of fields for novelist, poet, and historian; Virginia authors need not seek their subjects far from home. To treat these subjects they are well equipped. Themselves the centre of the most purely Anglo-Saxon society in America, they inherit a literary language pure and undefiled. They are heirs, moreover, of a manner of literary treatment which in its warmth, sincerity, and

unaffected simplicity, is unsurpassed in the world. Inheriting a wealth of themes, inheriting a beauty of style, let them work unceasingly to win perfection with the means at hand. Let the authors of Virginia seek to treat earnestly the subjects with which they are familiar, in the fashion which is naturally theirs, and, by being true to themselves and their mission, they will produce a literature worthy to be called typical not only of Virginia but of the whole western world.

A CHECK-LIST OF VIRGINIA WRITERS.

Including Only Those Virginians Who Published Books Between the Years 1607 and 1901.

In the compilation of this list, certain definite limitations have been observed. There are here included only those writers who may justly be called Virginians because of birth in the State, or because of residence in Virginia during some very long or very important period of their lives; those whom the compiler believes to have been Virginians without being absolutely certain of the fact, are distinguished by means of asterisks. Authors whose pen-names only are known, have not been recorded, and cross-references have always been made to the real names of writers best known by their pseudonyms. The list has been further limited by omitting the names of all who have not published *books*,—for instance, the writers of newspaper or magazine articles, and even of pamphlets or speeches separately published.

The hundreds of sources from which this list has been compiled cannot be mentioned here; it is, however, due Mrs. Kate S. Paul, of Harrisonburg, Va., to say that a MS. list of Virginia authors prepared by her has been of the very greatest value in supplying a large amount of information not elsewhere to be found. But, though the compiler has done his best to make this list exhaustive and accurate, he is well aware of the fact that it is very far from being either complete or errorless; he hopes, therefore, that those who discover its faults will make them known to him and thus lead to their correction.

A

"Addums, Mozis"
(See Bagby, George W.)
Alexander, Archibald
Alexander, James Waddell
Alfred, George
Alfriend, Edward Morrison
Alfriend, Frank H.
Allan, Mrs. Elizabeth Preston
Allan, William
Allen, Henry Watkins
Allen, S. Brown
Allmond, Marcus Blakey
Ambler, Jacqulin
*Amis, Mrs. E. H.
Anderson, Florence
Anderson, L. B.
Andrews, Mrs. Marietta M.
Armstrong, George Dodd
Armstrong, Mrs. M. F.
Armstrong, William Jessup
Arnold, B. W.
Ashton, Lawrence
Atkinson, George Wesley

B

Bacon, Alice Mabel
Bacon, Susan Lee
Bagby, Alfred, Jr.
Bagby, George William
Bailey, John
Bailey, Peter
Bailey, Robert
Baird, Samuel John
Baldwin, Joseph G.
Ballagh, James Curtis
Banister, John
Banks, Henry
"Barbarossa" (See Scott, Jno.)
Barbour, James
Barclay, James Turner
Barksdale, C. R.
Barnum, Mrs. Frances Courtenay Baylor
Barrett, P.
Barringer, Paul Brandon
Bartley, James Avis
Barton, Robert I.
Barton, W. S.
Baxter, George Addison
Baylor, Frances Courtenay
(See Barnum, Mrs.)
Baylor, J. B.
Bayne, George Middleton
Bayne, Howard R.
Beale, Helen G.
Beale, Mrs. Maria Taylor
Beale, Richard L. T.
*Beattie, Francis R.
Beckwourth, James P.
Bedinger, Henry M.

Bell, Agrippa Nelson
Bell, John W.
Bennett, Mrs. Martha Haynes Butt
Bennett, William W.
Berkeley, Sir William
Bernard, George
Bernard, Stephen
Beverly, Robert
Bibb, George M.
Bickley, George W. L.
Binga, A., Jr.
Birch, Thomas E.
Bird, Mrs. Mary Page
Bitting, C. C.
Blackburn, J. S.
Blackford, Charles M.
Blackford, Mrs. Susan Leigh
Blackwell, James DeRuyter
Blackwell, John S.
*Blackwell, R.
Blackwell, Robert Emory
Blættermann, George
Blaine, Henry Gordon
Blair, James
Blair, John Durbarrow
Blair, Lewis H.
Blair, Walter
Bland, Richard
Bland, Theodoric
Bledsoe, Albert Taylor
Blount, Annie R.
Boardman, John
Boatwright, Frederic William
Bocock, J. W.
Bocock, Sarah M.
Bolling, R.
Bolton, James
Bonnycastle, Charles
Bonsal, Stephen
Boogher, William Frederick
*Booker, George A.
Bosher, Mrs. Kate Langley
"Boswell"
(See Johnson, William B.)
*Bosworth, Edward W.
Botts, John Minor
Boucher, Jonathan
Bouldin, Powhatan
Bourne, George
Bouve, Mrs. Pauline Carrington Rust
Bowen, L. P.
Bowling, William King
Bowyer, James T.
Boyd, Belle
(See Hardinge, Mrs.)
Boyd, Charles R.
Boyd, Mrs. L.
Bradford, John
Bradley, A. G.
Bradley, Mrs. Mary Emily Neeley
Bradley, Thomas Bibb
Branch, William, Jr.
Brannon, Henry
Braxton, Carter
Braxton, Carter M.
Breckinridge, Mrs. Julia Antony
Broaddus, Andrew
Broaddus, Andrew (2nd)
Broadhead, Garland Carr
Broadus, Annie M.
Broadus, John Albert
Broadus, Rosalie Madison
Brock, Robert Alonzo

Brock, Sarah A.
(See Putnam, Mrs. S. A.)
Brockenbrough, John White
Brockenbrough, William
Brockenbrough, William H.
Brockett, F. L.
Brooke, F. T.
Brooks, Ebenezer
Brown, Aaron Vail
Brown, Alexander
Brown, Glenn
Brown, John
Brown, Kenneth
Brown, Reid
Brown, Samuel
Browne, Henry
Brownlow, William Gannaway
Bruce, Edward Caledon
Bruce, Philip Alexander
Bruce, Thomas
Bruce, W. Cabell
Bryan, Daniel
Bryan, Emma Lyon
Bryan, Thomas Barbour
Bryce, C. A.
Bryce, T. T.
Buchanan, Joseph
Buford, Elizabeth Burgess
Burgwyn, Collinson Pierrepont Edwards
Burk, John Daly
Burke, William
Burks, Martin P.
Burrows, J. L.
Burton, H. W.
Burwell, Letitia M.
Burwell, William M.
Butler, Nathaniel
Butt, Martha Haynes
(See Bennett, Mrs. M.H.B.)
Byrd, William

C

Cabell, James Lawrence
Cabell, Mrs. Isa Carrington
Cabell, Mrs. J. Grattan
Cabell, Joseph Carrington
Cabell, Mrs. Julia Mayo
*Cabell, N. F.
"Cairns, Kate"
(See Bosher, Mrs. Kate L.)
Caldwell, Mrs. Willie Walker
Call, Daniel
Callender, James Thomas
Cameron, Henry Clay
Cameron, William E.
Campbell, Alexander
Campbell, Alexander Augustus
Campbell, Alexander James
Campbell, Charles
Campbell, J. Mason
Campbell, John Lyle
Campbell, John Poage
Campbell, John Wilson
Campbell, Robert F.
Campbell, William A.
*Cappleman, Josie Frazee
Carleton, Henry
Carnefix, Frances D.
(See Keister, Mrs. F. C.)

Carpenter, Franklin Reuben
Carroll, David Lynn
Carroll, James P.
Carter, R. R.
Carter, St. Leger Landon
Carter, William Page
Cartwright, Peter
Caruthers, William Alexander
Cary, Gillie
Cary, Mrs. Virginia
Casler, John Overton
Castleman, Virginia Carter
Catlett, James M.
Chalmers, Mrs. Anna Meade
Chamberlayne, Churchill Gibson
Chambliss, William Parham
Chancellor, Charles Williams
Chandler, J. A. C.
Chanler, Mrs. Amelie Rives
(See Troubetszkoy, Princess)
Chapman, John Gadsby
Chapman, Nathaniel
Chesterman, William Dallas
Chilton, Edward
Chisolm, Julian John
Christian, W. Asbury
Claiborne, G. M.
Claiborne, John Herbert
Claiborne, Nathaniel Herbert
Clark, George Rogers
Clark, R. E.
Clark, William
Clark, William L., Jr.
Clarke, Peyton Neale
Clarkson, Henry Mazyck
Clay, Henry
Clayton, John
Claytor, Graham
Cleland, Thomas
*Clemens, Nannie
Clover, Lewis P.
Cluverius, Thomas Judson
Coale, Charles B.
Cobbs, Nicholas Hamner
Cocke, A. R.
Cocke, Philip St. George
Cocke, William Archer
Coghill, James H.
Colaw, John Marvin
Cole, Richard Beverly
*Coleman, William D.
Coleman, William Emmett
Coles, Edward
Coles, John J.
Collins, Charles
Colson, R.
Colwell, Stephen
Conrad, T. N.
Converse, Henry D.
Conway, Moncure Daniel
Cooke, John Esten
Cooke, Philip Pendleton
Cooke, Philip St. George
Copland, Antoinette Sheppard
Cooper, Samuel
Corbin, Mrs. Diana Fontaine Maury
Cory, Charles Henry
Cotton, Mrs. An
Courtenay, Edward Henry
Courtenay, John
Cowan, Pamela H.
Cowan, Robert
Cox, Edward Travers
Coxe, Henry Carleton

Coyner, Charles Luther
Craighill, Robert S.
Craighill, William Price
Cranch, Christopher Pearse
Crane, William Carey
Crawford, J. Marshall
*Crawford, T. P.
"Crayon, Porte"
(See Strother, David H.)
Cringan, Mrs. J. W.
Croes, John James Robertson
Crow, Mrs. Susan Wilcox Hubard
Curry, Jabez Lamar Monroe
*Curry, John P.
Cussons, John
Custis, George Washington Parke
Cutler, Mrs. Lizzie Petit

D

Dabney, Charles William
Dabney, Richard
Dabney, Richard Heath
Dabney, Robert Lewis
Dabney, Virginius
Dabney, Walter D.
Dabney, William Cecil
Dagg, John Leadley
*Dalby, J. Arnold
Dandridge, Mrs. Danske Bedinger
Danforth, Joshua Noble
"Dange, Henri"
(See Hammond, Mrs. H. H.)
Daniel, Frederick S.
Daniel, Ferdinand E.
Daniel, John Moncure
Daniel, John Warwick
Daniel, Mrs. Lizzie Cary
Daniels, Josephus
Dashiel, T. G.
"Dashmore, Frank"
(See Downing, Mrs. F. M.)
Davidson, John D.
Davies, Samuel
Daviess, Joseph Hamilton
Davis, Henry Winter
Davis, John
Davis, John A. G.
Davis, Martha Ann
Davis, Mrs. Mary Duiguid
Davis, Noah Knowles
Davis, Rebecca Harding
Davis, Varina Anne Jefferson
Davis, Varina Howell Jefferson
Davisson, Ananias
Day, Mrs. W. C.
DeHass, Willis
Delaware, Thomas West, Lord,
Denny, George Hutcheson
DeVere, Maximilian Schele
Dew, Thomas Roderick
Digges, Dudley
Dillard, James Hardy
Dillon, John Brown
*Dimmock, Charles H.
Dinwiddie, Robert
Dinwiddie, William

*Dixon, Francis B.
Dixon, Thomas, Jr.
Dodd, James B.
Doddridge, Joseph
Dodge, Jacob Richards
Doggett, Daniel Seth
Donelson, John
Doswell, Sallie J.
Douglas, Margaret Crittenden
Dove, John
Dowd, Mary Alice
Dowell, Greensville
Dowler, Bennet
Downing, Mrs. Frances Murdaugh
Draper, Henry
Draper, John Christopher
Drewry, William Sidney
Dudley, Thomas Underwood
Duggan, Mrs. Janie Pritchard
Duke, Richard Thomas Walker
Dunaway, T. S.
Duncan, James Armstrong
Dunglison, Robley
Dunnington, Frank P.
Dupuy, Eliza Ann
DuVal, John Pope
DuVal, W.

E

Early, John
Early, Jubal Anderson
"Earnest, Elsie"
(See Scruggs, Mrs. M.V.S.)
Easter, Marguerite Elizabeth Millar
Eastman, Mrs. Mary Henderson
*Easton, William Edgar
Edwards, Emory
Edwards, John Ellis
Edwards, Landon Brame
Edwards, Mrs. Matilda Caroline Smiley
*Edwards, Richard
Edwards, Sue
Edwards, William Emory
Edwards, William Henry
Effinger, John Robert
Eggleston, George Cary
Eggleston, R. Beverly
Elenjay, Louise
Ellison, Matthew,
Ellwood, John K.
Elwes, A. W.
Emmet, Thomas Addis
Empie, Adam
Evans, Elizabeth Hewlings Stockton
Eveline, Robert
Ewell, Alice Maud
Ewell, T.
Ewing, Finis
Exclerc, Daniel

F

Fairfield, Edmund Burke
Farrar, F. R.
Farmer, C. M.
Faulkner, Charles James
Fauquier, Francis
Fausset, Andrew Robert
Fentonhill, John
Ferguson, Mrs. Emma Henry
Festetitts, Mrs. Kate Neely Hill
Fewell, Laura R.
Ficklen, John Rose
"Fielding, Fannie"
(See Sturges, Mrs. M. J. U. S.)
Figg, R. W.
Finley, John
Fishburne, John W.
Fisher, George D.
Fitz, J. W.
Fitz, James
Fitzhugh, George
Fitzhugh, William
Flagg, Edmund
Fleming, Lucy Randolph
Flohr, George Daniel
Flood, John H., Jr.
Floyd, N. J.
Fontaine, Edward
Fontaine, Francis
Fontaine, James
Fontaine, Lamar
Fontaine, William Morris
Foote, Henry Stuart
Foote, William Henry
Ford, Harry Clinton
Forrest, William S.
Fosdick, Mrs. Gertrude Christian
Foster, H. C.
Foster, Jonathan
Fowler, George
Fowler, John
*Fowler, W. H.
Fox, John William
Fox, Luther Augustine
Freear, Robert Louis
Freemont, Mrs. Jessie Benton
French, Benjamin Franklin
French, James S.
French, Mrs. L. Virginia Smith
Fristoe, William
Frith, Gilbert R.
Funston, J. B.

G

Galt, John M.
Garber, Mrs. A. W.
Gardener, Helen Hamilton
(See Smart, Mrs. H.H.G.)
Garland, Hugh A.
Garland, Landon Cabell
Garnett, Charles F. M.
Garnett, Elizabeth
Garnett, James Mercer
Garnett, James Mercer (2nd)
Garnett, Louis A.
Garnett, R. H.

Garrett, William Robertson
Gholson, William Yates
Gibson, Charles Bell
Gilbert, David McConaughy
Gildersleeve, Basil Lanneau
*Gilman, William S.
Gilmer, Francis Walker
Giles, William Branch
*Gillis, B. W.
Gilmer, George Rockingham
Gilmer, John Harmer
Giarrdin, Louis Hue
Glasgow, Ellen Anderson Gholson
Goode, George Brown
Goode, Richard Urquhart
Goode, Thomas
Goodhart, Briscoe
Goodwin, John S.
Gordon, Armistead Churchill
Gordon, James Lindsay
Gordon, John M.
Gordon, Mrs. John N.
Gore, James Howard
Gorgas, Ferdinand Jas. Samuel
Graham, John
Granbery, John Cowper
Grantham, Sir Thomas
Grattan, Peachy Ridgeway
Grave, John
Graves, Charles Alfred
*Gray, S. L.
Green, Bennett Wood
Green, Lewis Warner
Green, Raleigh Travers
*Green, Sanford Moon
Green, William
Green, William Bachelder
Greenhow, Robert
Greenway, J. R.
Greer, David Hummell
Greever, Walton Harlowe
Gregory, Edward S.
Griffith, Robert Eglesfield
Grigg, Jacob
Grigsby, Hugh Blair
Grimsby, Daniel A.
Guigon, A. B.
Guild, Josephus Coun
Gunter, Bessie E.
Gwathmey, Emmy Hendren

H

Hagan, J. M.
Haines, Hiram
Hale, John Peter
Hale, Nathaniel Herbert
Hall, Everard
Hall, John Leslie
Hallowell, Benjamin
Halsey, Leroy Jones
Halstead, William H.
Hambleton, James Pinkney
Hamilton, John William
Hammond, Mrs. Henrietta Hardy
Hammond, John
Hamor, Raphe
Handy, Isaac W. K.
*Hanna, J. Marshall
Hansborough, George W.
Hardinge, Mrs. Bell Boyd

"Harland, Marion"
(See Terhune, Mrs. M. V. H.)
*Harlow, B. F.
Harper, Robert Goodloe
Harris, Thomas Mealey
Harris, William Asbury
Harrison, Mrs. Constance Cary
Harrison, Gessner
Harrison, James Albert
Harrison, Thomas
Harrison, William Henry
Hartshorne, Joseph
Hartwell, Henry
Harvey, William Hope
*Hassler, Ferdinand Rudolph
Hatch, Frederick Winslow
Hatcher, William E.
Hatchett, Mamie Lamkin
Haw, Mary J.
Hawes, Herbert H.
Hawes, Mary V.
(See Terhune, Mrs. M. V. H.)
*Hawley, John G.
Haxall, Mrs. R. B.
Hay, George
Hayden, Horace Edwin
Heath, James E.
Heath, Roscoe B.
Henderson, James
Henderson, Julia Putnam
Hendren, Samuel Rivers
Hendrick, Elijah H.
Hening, Julia R.
Hening, William Waller
Henkel, David
Henkel, Paul
Henkel, Socrates
Henkle, Moses Montgomery
Henley, Samuel
Henneman, John Bell
Henry, Patrick
Henry, William Wirt
Herndon, William Lewis
Herrick, Mrs. Sophie McIlvaine Bledsoe
Hersey, John
Hicks, Rebecca
Hildreth, Eugenius Augustus
Hildreth, Ezekiel
Hill, Mrs. Kate Neely
(See Festetitts, Mrs. K. N. H.)
Hill, William
Hobson, Margaret
Hoge, Moses
Hoge, Moses Drury
Hoge, Moses Drury, Jr.
Hoge, Peyton Harrison
Hoge, William James
Hogue, Addison
Holcombe, Henry
Holcombe, James Philemon
Holcombe, William Henry
Holladay, Albert Lewis
Holliday, Frederick W. M.
*Holman, William
Holmes, George Frederick
Holmes, H.
Holt, John
Hooper, Susan Elizabeth
Homer, Frederick
Hooper, T. W.
Hope, James Barron
Horner, William Edmunds
Horsley, Elizabeth
Hotchkiss, Jedediah
Hotchkiss, Nelson H.

Hott, James William
House, Hanna A.
Houston, Edwin James
Houston, Samuel
Howard, John
Howard, Overton
Howe, James Lewis
Howell, Robert Boyle Crawford
Howison, Robert Reid
*Hubbard, Robert B.
Hughes, Robert M.
Hughes, Robert William
Hume, Thomas
Humphreys, David Carlisle
Humphreys, John T.
Humphreys, Milton Wylie
Hunter, Mrs. Martha Featon
Hunt, Sara Keables
Hunt, Thomas Poage
Hunter, James
Hunter, John
Hunter, Robert Mercer Taliaferro
Hurst, Samuel N.
Hutchinson, John A.
Hutter, Mrs. Nannie Langhorne

I

Irby, Richard
Ives, Mrs. Cora Semmes

J

Jackson, Mrs. Mary Anna Morrison
Jacob, Henry
Jacobs, John Adamson
Jaeger, Abraham
James, Benjamin
James, C. F.
Janney, Samuel Macpherson
Jarratt, Devereux
Jefferson, Thomas
Jeffries, Fayette
Jennings, Samuel K.
Jeter, Jeremiah Bell
Jett, James
Johns, John
Johnson, Benjamin Franklin
Johnson, Blanche Wynne
Johnson, Bradley Tyler
Johnson, F. B.
Johnson, John Lipscomb
Johnson, Mrs. Sarah Barclay
Johnson, Thomas Cary
Johnson, William B.
Johnston, Charles
Johnston, Frederic
Johnston, Mrs. Maria I.
Johnston, Mary
Johnston, Joseph Eggleston
Johnston, William Preston
Joliffe, William
Jones, Buchring H.
*Jones, George William
Jones, Hugh
Jones, John Beauchamp

Jones, John William
Jones, Joseph
Jones, Skelton
*Jones, T. G.
Jones, Walter
Jones, Wiley
Jones, William Hiter
Jones, William Russell
Jordan, Mrs. Cornelia Jane Matthews
Jordan, Richard
Jordan, Thomas
Joynes, Edward Southey
Joynes, William
Julap, Giles
Junkin, George

K

Kane, Elisha Kent
Kean, P.
Kean, R. G. H.
Keiffer, Aldine Silliman
Keiley, Anthony N.
Keister, Mrs. Fannie Carnefix
Kemper, James Lawson
Kemper, Willis Miller
Kent, Charles W.
Kent, Henry T.
Kercheval, Samuel
Kern, John A.
*Kernodle, Peter J.
Kerr, Robert Pollock
Key, Thomas Hewitt
Kilby, L. Clay
Koiner, Absalom
Koiner, Mrs. Anna Venable
Krauth, Charles Porterfield
Kuegele, Frank

L

Lacey, John Fletcher
Laidley, Theodore Thaddeus Sobieski
Lafferty, John J.
Lacy, William Sterling
Langhorne, Mrs. Orra Gray
Langston, John Mercer
Latane, John Holliday
Lawson, Thomas
Lay, Henry Champlin
Lederer, John
Lee, Arthur
Lee, Charles Carter
Lee, Charles Henry
Lee, Edmund Jennings
Lee, Fitzhugh
Lee, Henry
Lee, Henry (2nd)
Lee, Jesse
Lee, Leroy Madison
Lee, Richard E.
Lee, Richard Henry
Lee, Richard Henry (2nd)
Lee, Robert Edward
Lee, Samuel Philips
Lee, Mrs. Susan Pendleton
Lees, T. J.
Leeser, Isaac

Leigh, Benjamin Watkins
Leigh, Joseph
Leland, John
Lewis, Andrew
Lewis, John
Lewis, John (2nd)
Lewis, Mrs. May McFarlane
Lewis, Merriwether,
Lewis, Theodore Hayes
Lewis, Virgil Anson
Leyburn, John
Ligon, William
Lile, William Minor
Lindsay, John Summerfield
Lindsay, Margaret Isabella
Little, Archibald John
Little, John P.
Littlefield, Mrs.
Loehr, Charles T.
Lomax, John Tayloe
Lomax, Judith
Long, Armistead Lindsey
Long, George
Love, C.
Lowe, John
Lucas, Daniel Bedinger
Lucas, Virginia
Lumsden, C.
Lupton, Nathaniel Thomas
Lyford, W. G.
Lynch, James Daniel
Lynch, William Francis

M

McBryde, John McLaren
McCabe, James Dabney
McCabe, James Dabney, Jr.
McCabe, John Collins
McCabe, William Gordon
McCarthy, Carleton
McCarthy, William Page
McClellan, Henry Brainerd
MacClelland, Margaret Greenway
McClurg, James
MacCorkle, William Alexander
*McCorkle, William P.
McCormick, Henrietta Hamilton
McCreery, John
MacDonald, Augus W.
McDonald, Flora M.
McDonald, William N.
McElligott, James Napoleon
McEnroe, William Hale
McGill, John
McGuffey, William Holmes
McGuire, Hunter Holmes
McGuire, Mrs. Judith Brockenbrough
McIlhany, Hugh Milton, Jr.
McIlwaine, Henry Read
McIllwaine, R. W.
McKim, Randolph Harrison
*McLauchlan, James A.
MacLeod, Daniel
McMahon, Richard Randolph
McMahon, Simon Crew
MacMahon, T. W.
McPhail, Mrs. Clement Carrington
MacQueary, Howard
McRae, Sherwin

McSherry, Richard M.
Madison, Mrs. Dorothy
Madison, James
Madison, James (2d)
"Madison, Virginia"
(See Putnam, Mrs. S. A.)
Magill, Mary Tucker
Magruder, Allan Bowie
Magruder, Julia
Mahan, Dennis Hart
Mahan, Milo
Mallet, John William
Makemie, Francis
Mallard, R. S.
Manly, Louise
Mann, Ambrose Dudley
Marr, Mrs. Janie Hope
Marr, Frances Harrison
Marshall, Alexander Keith
Marshall, Charles
Marshall, George
Marshall, Humphrey
Marshall, John
"Martin, Edward Winslow"
(See McCabe, J. D., Jr.)
Martin, Joseph
Martin, William
Martin, William Bruce
Mason, Mrs.
Mason, Emily Virginia
Mason, George
Mason, Richard
Mason, Virginia
Massey, J. E.
Massey, Wilbur Fiske
*Mathews, H. M.
"Matilda" (See Edwards, Mrs. M. C. S.)
Matthews, James M.
M(atthews), T(homas)
Matthews, William B.
Maury, Ann Fontaine
Maury, Dabney Herndon
Maury, Matthew Fontaine
Maury, Matthew Fontaine, Jr.
Maury, Richard L.
Maury, Mrs. Sarah Mytton Hughes
Maxwell, William
Mayer, (Rev.)
Mayo, Joseph
Mayo, Robert
Mead, Edward Campbell
Mead, Stith
Meade, Richard Kidder
Meade, William
Mercer, Charles Fenton
Mercer, John
Mercer, Margaret
Metcalfe, Samuel L.
*Michard, J.
Michie, Thomas Johnson
Mifflin, Warner
Miller, Charles Armand
*Miller, Lucy Henry
Mines, Flavel Scott
Mines, John
Minnigerode, Charles
Minor, Benjamin Blake
Minor, Charles L. C.
Minor, John Barbee
Minor, Lucian
Minor, Raleigh C.
Minor, Mrs. Virginia Maury Otey
Mitchell, John
Mitchell, John Kearsley

Moncure, Mrs. M. B.
Monroe, James
Montclair, J. W.
Montague, Andrew Philip
Monteiro, A.
Moore, Richard Channing
Moore, Thomas Vernon
Moore, William W.
Moorman, John
Moran, W. H. W.
Moran, Mrs. James Wormely Blackburn
Moran, James Brainerd
Moran, William
Mordecai, Samuel
Morris, Thomas
Morris, Thomas Asbury
Morris, Thomas B.
Mosby, Ella F.
Mosby, John Singleton
Mosby, Mrs. Mary Webster
Muir, James
Munford, George Wythe
Munford, Robert
Munford, William
Murphy, Dan
Mutter, Robert Dent
Mutter, Thomas Dent

N

Nadal, Bernard Harrison
Nadal, Ehrman Syme
Nelson, Thomas, Jr.
Neville, Samuel
Newton, M. M. P.
(See Stanard, Mrs. M. M. P. N.)
Nicholas, Robert Carter
Nichols, Edward West
Nicholson, Francis
Nixon, Barnaby
Norris, J. E.
Norris, Thaddeus
Norton, George Habley
"Norval, Leigh"
(See Horsley, Elizabeth)
Norwood, [Col.]

O

Ogg, Mrs.
Ogilvie, James
Opie, John N.
Otey, James Hervey
Overall, John Wilford
Overton, John

P

Packard, Joseph
Page, James Morris
Page, John
Page, John (2nd)
Page, John R.
Page, John W.
Page, Richard Channing Moore
Page, Thomas Jefferson

Page, Thomas Nelson
Page, William
Page, William Byrd
Painter, Franklin Verzelius Newton
Palmer, Mrs. V. W.
(See Waddey, Virginia)
Palmer, Robert F.
Palmer, William Price
Parke, John
Parke, Uriah
Parker, W. W.
Parker, William Harwar
Paschall, Edwin
Patillo, Henry
Patterson, Camm
Pattison, W. N.
Patton, John Mercer, Jr.
Patton, John S.
Patton, William M.
Paxton, William McClung
*Payne, R. L.
Peers, Benjamin Orrs
Peery, R. B.
Pendleton, Edmund
Pendleton, James Madison
Pendleton, William Nelson
Penick, Charles Clifton
Pepper, John R.
Percy, George
Perdue, E. T.
*Perry, W. S.
Peters, Mrs. M. Sheffey
Peters, William E.
Peterson, Peter Archer
Petit, Lizzie
(See Cutler, Mrs. L. P.)
Peyton, John Lewis
Phelps, Mrs. E. B. W.
Phillips, William Fowke Ravenel
Pickett, James C.
Pickett, Thomas Edward
Pitzer, Alexander White
Pleasants, Mary M.
Plumer, William Swan
Poe, Caswell T.
Poe, Edgar Allan
Poindexter, Charles
Poindexter, George
Pollard, Edward Albert
Pollard, John
Pollard, John Garland
Pollard, Marie Antoinette Nathalie Granier-Dowell
Pollard, Thomas
Pollock, A. D.
Pope, John
Porter, DuVal
Porter, John W. H.
Pory, John
Potts, John
Powers, Mrs. A. H.
Powers, William Dudley
Preston, George Junkin
Preston, John Thomas Lewis
Preston, Mrs. Margaret Junkin
Preston, Thomas Lewis
Price, James Cave
Price, Thomas Randolph
Pritts, J.
*Pryor, J. P.
Pulliam, David L.
Purinton, Daniel Boardman
Purinton, George Dana
Putman, Mrs. Sarah A. Brock

Q

Quarles, James Addison

"Quilp" (See Halstead, W. H.)

R

Radford, R. S.
*Ramsay, F. P.
*Ramsey, James B.
Randolph, Alfred Magill
Randolph, Cornelia J.
Randolph, E. A.
Randolph, Edmund
Randolph, Edmund Jennings
Randolph, Hugh
Randolph, Innes
Randolph, [Sir] John
Randolph, John
Randolph, Mrs. Mary
Randolph, Peyton
Randolph, Sarah Nicholas
Randolph, Thomas Jefferson
Randolph, T. Thornton
Ravenscroft, John Starke
Ray, Joseph
Raymond, Walter M.
Read, John H.
Reeves, James Edmund
Reimensnyder, Junius Benjamin
Relf, Samuel
Reynolds, J. L.
Rice, David
Rice, John Holt
Rich, Richard
Richardson, Mrs. H. H.
*Richardson, R.
Ritchie, Thomas
Rives, Amelie (See Troubetszkoy Princess)
Rives, Mrs. Judith Page Walker
Rives, William Cabell
Roane, Spencer
Roberts, Joseph
Roberts, Mrs. R. R.
Robertson, David
Robertson, Harrison
Robertson, John
Robertson, Mrs. Martha
Robertson, Thomas Bolling
Robertson, Wyndham
Robins, Mrs. Sallie Nelson
Robinson, Conway
Robinson, Fayette
Robinson, John
Robinson, Mrs. Martha Harrison
Robinson, Stuart
Robson, John
Rogers, Patrick Kerr
Rogers, William Barton
Rose, E. M. P.
Rosenfeld, Sidney
Ross, Frederick Augustus
Rosser, Mrs. Elizabeth Winston
Rosser, Leonidas
Rouett, A. P.
Rowan, Andrew Summers
Rowland, Kate Mason
Royall, Mrs. Anne

Royall, William L.
Ruffin, Edmund
Ruffin, Frank G.
Ruffner, Henry
Ruffner, William Henry
Rumsey, James
Russell, Frances E.
Ruter, P. S.
Rutherford, John Coles
Ryals, John Vincent
Ryan, Abram Joseph
Ryland, Robert

S

Safford, William Harrison
Salyards, Joseph H.
Sampson, Francis Smith
Sams, Conway Whittle
Sands, Alexander Hamilton
Sandys, George
Saunders, A. W., Jr.
Saunders, Cortland
Scherer, J. A. B.
Schermerhorn, Martin Kellog
Schmidt, Gustavus
Schmucker, Samuel Mosheim
Schooler, Samuel
Schuricht, Herrmann
Scott, A.
Scott, Edward
Scott, John
Scott, W. W.
Scott, William Cowper
Scott, Winfield
Scruggs, Mrs. Marietta Virginia Steger
Seamon, W. H.
Seaton, William Winston
Seawell, Molly Elliott
Selden, Samuel
Selden, William
Semmes, Thomas J.
Semple, Robert Baylor
Sener, James Beverly
Shaffner, Taliaferro Preston
Shaler, William
Shearer, John Bunyan
Shearer, J. W.
Shepherd, Samuel
Shreve, Thomas H.
Shuck, Mrs. Henrietta Hall
Shuck, John Lewis
Shute, Daniel Kerfoot
***Simonton, Charles H.**
Sims, Alexander Dromgoole
Sims, Edward Dromgoole
Sizer, Julia Josephine
Slaughter, Philip
Slaughter, William Bank
Slenker, Mrs. Elmina Drake
Smart, Mrs. Helen Hamilton Gardener
Smedes, Mrs. Susan Dabney
Smiley, Matilda C. (See Edwards, Mrs. M. C. S.)
Smith, Augustine Meade
Smith, Benjamin Mosby
Smith, Daniel
Smith, Daniel (2nd)
Smith, Edward B.
Smith, Francis Henney,
Smith, George H.

Smith, Humphry
Smith, J. Lawrence
Smith, John
Smith, John Augustine
Smith, John Blair
Smith, Mrs. Margaret Vowell
Smith, Mrs. Mary Stuart Harrison
Smith, Meade
Smith, Richard Meade
Smith, Samuel Stanhope
Smith, Mrs. Sarah Henderson
Smith, W. R. L.
Smith, William Andrew
Smith, William Waugh
Smithdeal, George Michael
Smithey, Royal Bascom
Smothers, S. H.
Smyth, Alexander
Smyth, John Ferdinand D.
Snead, Martha G. Tillman
Snead, Thomas Lowndes
Snowden, David Harold
Snowden, W. H.
*Snyder, W.
"Somerville, Lorenzo" (See Humphreys, John T.)
Southall, James Cocke
Spalding, J. W.
Sparrow, William
Speece, Conrad
Speece, Frederick
Spelman, Henry
Spence, Walter
Spencer, Thomas
Spotswood, Alexander
Spotswood, John B.
Sprigg, D. F.
Stanard, Mrs. M. M. P. Newton
Stanard, W. G.
Stanton, Frederic Perry
Stanton, Henry Thompson
Stanton, Richard Henry
Starke, Richard
Steel, George McKendree
Stephenson, James White
Sterling, Richard
Sterrett, John Douglas
Sterrett, John Robert Sitlington
Stevens, Walter Le Conte
Stewart, Austin
Stewart, Ferdinand Campbell
Stiles, Lelia Caperton
Stirewalt, J. P.
Stith, William
Stobs, Robert
Stockard, Henry Jerome
Stone, Ormond
Strachey, William
Straker, D. A.
Strange, Robert
Stratton, R. B.
Stringfellow, Thorton
Strother, David Hunter
Strother, John
Stuart, Alexander Hugh Holmes
Stubbs, William Carter
Sturges, Mrs. Mary Jane Upshur Stith
Suit, Pleasant
Swank, William A.
Swartz, Joel
Sweeny, Talbott

T

Tabb, John Banister
Tait, John R.
Taliaferro, John
Talley, Susan Archer
(See Weiss, Mrs. S. A. T.)
Tate, Benjamin
Tate, Joseph
Tatham, William
Taylor, Charles Elisha
Taylor, Creed
Taylor, George Boardman
Taylor, James Barnett
Taylor, John
Taylor, John (2nd)
Taylor, Walter Herron
Taylor, William
Taylor, Yardley
Taylor, Zachary
Tazewell, Littleton Waller
Tennent, John
Terhune, Mrs. Mary Virginia Hawes
*Teusler, Mme. M. J.
Thayer, Martin Russell
"Theta" (See Henderson, J.P.)
Thom, William Taylor
Thomas, Hiram Washington
Thomas, Howell L.
Thomas, J.
Thomas, R. S.
Thompson, George W.
Thompson, John Reuben
Thompson, Rich'd Wiggington
Thomson, John
Thomson, William
Thornton, Gustavus Brown
Thornton, J. Douglass
Thornton, James Bankhead
Thornton, Jessy Quinn
Thornton, Thomas C.
Tidball, John Caldwell
Tidball, Mrs. Mary Langdon
Tidball, Thomas Allen
Tillett, Francis
Tindall, P. B.
Tompkinson, Henry
Totten, Silas
Toy, Crawford Howell
Traylor, Robert Lee
Trent, William Peterfield
Triplett, William H.
Trist, Nicholas Philip
Troubetszkoy, Mrs. Amelie Rives Chanler, Princess
Tucker, David Holmes
Tucker, George
Tucker, Henry Saint George
Tucker, Henry St. George (2d)
Tucker, John Randolph
Tucker, Lena H.
Tucker, Nathaniel
Tucker, Nathaniel Beverly
Tucker, Saint George
Tucker, Saint George (2d)
Tucker, Saint George (3d)
Tunstall, Nannie W.
Tupper, Henry Allen
Turley, Preston S.
Turner, William Mason
Turpin, John B.
Tyler, John
Tyler, James Hoge

Tyler, Lyon Gardiner
Tyler, Robert
Tyree, Mrs. Marion Cabell

U

Upshur, Mary Jane
(See Sturges, Mrs. M. J. U. S.)
Upshur, Abel Parker
Urner, Clarence H.

V

Vail, Thomas Hubbard
Vaughan, George Tulley
Vaughan, Mrs. S. A.
Vawter, Bransford
Venable, Charles Scott
Venable, Anna
(See Koiner, Mrs. A. V.)
Venable, Francis Preston
"Viola"
(See Downing, Mrs. F. M.)

W

Waddel, John N.
Waddell, Joseph Alexander
Waddey, Virginia
Walke, Henry
Walker, Alexander Joseph
Walker, Charles D.
Walker, Cornelius
Walker, Thomas
Wall, H.
Waller, A.
Walton, William Claiborne
Ward, Mrs. Lydia Avery Coonley
Ward, Robert D.
Warder, T. B.
Ware, James
Ware, Thomas A.
Warner, Zebedee
Warren, Edward
Warrock, John
*Washburn, Cephas
Washington, Booker Taliaferro
Washington, Bushrod
Washington, George
Washington, Henry Angustine
Washington, Lawrence
Watkins, John Elfreth
Wauchope, George Armstrong
Webb, George
Webster, M. M.
(See Mosby, Mrs. M. W.)
Webster, Nathan Burnham
Weems, Mason Locke
Weidemeyer, John William
Weiss, Mrs. Susan Archer Talley
*Wesson, W. H.
West, Albert L.

Westcott, Edith C.
Wharey, James
Wharton, Henry M.
Wharton, John
Wharton, Morton Bryan
Whitaker, Alexander
Whitaker, Mary S. Furman
Whitaker, Nathaniel
White, Henry Alexander
White, Henry M.
White, Hugh
White, Israel Charles
White, Robert
White, Robert Baker
White, William S.
Whitehead, Thomas
Whittet, Robert
Whittlesey, Sarah J. C.
Wickham, John
Wight, Emma Howard
Wilkinson, John
Will, Allen Sinclair
Willey, Waitman Thomas
Williams, Charles C.
Williams, Edward
Williamson, James J.
Williams, John Wilson Montgomery
Williamson, Mary Lynn Harrison
Williamson, Minnie W.
Williamson, Thomas H.
Willis, Byrd Charles
Willis, Henry Parker
Willoughby, Westel Woodbury
Willoughby, William Franklin
Wilmer, Richard Hooker
Wilmer, William Holland
Wilson, Joseph T.
Wilson, Thomas Woodrow
Wingfield, Edwin Maria
Winkler, Mrs. A. V.
Winston, Anne Steger
Winston, Nannie B.
Wirt, Mrs. Elizabeth Washington Gamble
Wirt, William
Wise, Barton Haxall
Wise, George
Wise, Henry Alexander
Wise, John Sergeant
Withers, Alexander Scott
Witherspoon, Theodore Dwight
Wolfe, (Judge)
Wolff, Bernard Crouse
Wood, Annie C.
Wood, Charles Parke
Wood, Mrs. Jean Moncure
Wood, John
Wood, Thomas Longstreet
Woodrow, Fredrick
Woods, Edgar
Woods, Katherine Pearson
Woodward, Augustus B.
Wormley, Ariana Randolph
Wormley, Mary Elizabeth
Wrenn, Margaret Breckenridge
Wright, Mrs. Sarah Anna
Wynne, Thomas Hicks
Wyth, John
Wythe, George

Y

Young, Loyal